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Part I

NEW KUSHĀṆA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

By

V. N. Srivastava, M.A.

Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

While checking the antiquities stored in the godowns of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura, I came across two broken pedestals of seated Buddhist images, containing inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period, unnoticed so far. They may be described as follows :—

I. Lower part of a red sandstone seated image of Bodhisattva (M. M. No. 4329 ; measuring 1'9"×6½"×11"), as apparent from the ornamented girdle, which is very similar in style to its famous Śrāvastī counterpart, now in Lucknow Museum. The left portion of the pedestal, including the shin, is broken and along with it, has gone practically 1/3 of the inscription which is beautifully incised on it, in two lines, in Brāhmī script of the 1st cent. A.D. The language of the inscription is mixed Sanskrit, so commonly found in Kushāṇa records. The inscription refers to the year 4 of Kaṣhka's reign (i.e., 82 A.D.) and may be read as follows :—

Text

1. Mahārājasya Kaṣi(shka)sya sam 4 va 1 di 1 etasya purv-
vāye bhikṣhu Dharmmanandasya Dharmmarathakasya Saddhya-
vihārisya Bha.....

2. pratishṭhāpayati mahādanḍanāyaka Hummiyaka Ladysak-
kavihāre aṇenam eya dharmmaparityagena mātāpitṛaṇām....

Line 2. Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Hummiyaka sets up (this image) in the Ladyrakka Vihāra. By doing this, (he) disowns the result of this pious deed in favour of mother, father.....

(2) Red sand-stone fragment (M. M. No. 4328, 11" x 9" x 8") is from the lower part of a seated Buddha image. Only a portion of the left foot and an equal part of the pedestal now remain. The broken pedestal bears the last few letters of a two-line epigraph, written in Brāhmī script which on palaeographic grounds can be placed in or about the 1st. cent. A. D. It can be read as follows:—

Text

- (1) Saddhe Vihāre.
(2) vihāre pra
(tishṭhāpitah)

Translation

..... In Saddha Vihāra
..... is set up in.....Vihāra.

The inscription being very fragmentary, we do not know, to which king it refers to. Nor can we know the name of the donee, donor, or even the vihāra where the image was set up. Yet the

inscription is not without any significance, for it suggests the existence of at least one new monastery named 'Saddha' in Mathura.

[N. B. Compare 'Saddha' of this record with 'Saddhya' of the previous epigraph. The two may be identical. There can be no doubt that there existed in Mathura, a monastery of this name also during the Kushāṇa age. This assumption, however, is not baseless. But the word 'vihārisya' after 'Saddhya' in the first epigraph, is grammatically wrong. It should have been 'vihāre' or 'vihārasya' meaning thereby 'in' or 'of' Saddhya-vihāra.]

Again, the word 'Saddhya' may be the corrupt form of 'Sadyah' in Sanskrit, meaning 'newly-constructed', but then it should have a visarga after 'ya', instead of 'dha' which has been inserted between 'da' and 'ya'. If we take these to be mistakes of the scribe and the word 'Saddha' of the second inscription, to be standing for 'Sadyah', the translation in both cases would be 'of the newly-constructed vihāra'. I, however, leave it to scholars to throw more light on these two important epigraphs.]*

*These two inscriptions were originally published by Sri K. D. Bajpai, formerly Curator of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura. See Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXth Session (1957), pp. 68-69. —Editor

PRĀYOPAVEŚA IN ANCIENT KĀŚMĪRA

A Study of Rājatarāṅgiṇī

By

B. S. SHUKLA, M.A.

Prāyopaveśa, which literally means 'to sit down for a solemn fast', was a weapon of the weak against the strong, for redress of grievances in ancient Kāśmīra. The chief source of our information is *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa which enumerates many *prāyopaveśa* cases. The current equivalent of *prāyopaveśa* is 'anaśana' which is inadequately translated into English as 'hunger-strike'. The philosophy of hunger-strike is controversial, and political thinkers often differ from one another in this regard. Certain leading men of the world, both in the east and the west, take hunger-strike as a coercive method, adopted by the aggrieved to get their demands conceded; and as such, according to them, its use can never be justified. There are other persons also who treat hunger-strike as an attempt at suicide. However, Mahatma Gandhi gave its ideal exposition. In his opinion, it is a method to purify oneself. It seeks the change of heart of the tyrant or the strong. But Gandhiji made it clear that this weapon cannot, and should not, be used by every man. The views of Mahatma Gandhi are generally accepted by Indian thinkers. Gandhiji himself resorted to fast many a time and proved the efficiency of this weapon. But it is still open to question whether hunger-strike really changes the heart of the oppressor, or whether the latter is compelled to take notice of it because of political and similar other reasons, not necessarily moral ones. However, the testimony of various cases of *prāyopaveśa* enumerated in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* generally favours Gandhiji's views.

It appears that *prāyopaveśa* in Kāśmīra was very common in olden days. The government were also susceptible to these hunger-strikes. The rulers often had to recognise the evil activities of their administration, against which *prāyopaveśa* was resorted to by the people from all walks of life. *Prāyopaveśa* was sometimes held on mass scale also. On a certain occasion, even a king named Chandrāpiḍa undertook solemn fast to purify himself for he had

failed to do justice (*Rājat.* IV. 99). It was not, as it would seem, a counter hunger-strike to dissuade a person already on *prāyopaveśa*, but it was the genuine feeling of the king. The story runs thus: Once a Brāhmaṇa woman whose husband was murdered by some unknown person during the reign of king Chandrāplḍa sat on hunger-strike (*ibid.* IV, 82). From what she told the law officers of the king Chandrāplḍa, it is evident that *prāyopaveśa* by the aforesaid woman was done in protest of the king's bad rule, in which the life of the subject was very insecure. 'This indeed', she said, 'is a great humiliation for a king of noble conduct that premature death should touch his subjects (*ibid.* IV, 84)'. It is also clear that to seek justice and stand triumphantly was preferred to being a 'sati' and let the crimes go unchallenged. She further told the king that: "Four nights have been worn out.....since I have been starving. I did not follow in death the husband because of the yearning for retaliation against the murderer; in the event of punishment not being meted out to this one (the murderer), in this matter I am to give up life by fasting (*ibid.* IV, 87-98)."

In the sixth book of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa informs us of a man who also had undertaken a voluntary starvation to get certain of his rights recognised by the government. Here a merchant had badly exploited the hunger-striker. Having failed to obtain justice from lower courts, the aggrieved resorted to *prāyopaveśa* (*Rājat.* VI, 14-25).

Prāyopaveśa was generally held in the form of 'dharanā'. We are told of a Brāhmaṇa who stood outside the palace of the king and threatened to commit suicide by hunger-strike, if he failed to see the king for some important work (*ibid.* VI, 43).

Howsoever justified the cause of *prāyopaveśa* might be, Kalhaṇa condemns the groups of Brāhmaṇas who sit on hunger-strike every now and then, without much justification. He calls them 'professional fast-mongers'. The reason of Kalhaṇa's indignation towards professional hunger-strikers may be well appreciated, specially in our own times, when the valuable weapon of *anāśana* is exploited and is definitely used as a coercive method, at least in certain cases, and where it serves as a stimulant to mass fury in

political agitations. How corrupt some of the Brāhmaṇas were in 10th and 11th centuries A. D. is evident from the fact that they were induced 'to enter upon a solemn fast (*prāyopaveśa*) in order to cause disturbance in the kingdom of Queen Diddā (980-81 to 1003 A. D.) by Vīgraharāja. But the Brāhmaṇas were won over by Queen Diddā with the gift of gold, and consequently they abandoned fasting. They, however, restarted their fast.¹

It is believed that the Brāhmaṇas again undertook a solemn fast in the reign of king Ananta (1028-1063 A. D.), who was greatly troubled by their fasts (*Rājat.*, VII, 1777). They went on hunger-strike against his son Kalāśa also, to stop hostilities of royal family which caused ruin to the country. The king and his son were ever in dispute, and, naturally, the administration had become most inefficient. Here Kalhaṇa does not disapprove of the action taken by Brāhmaṇas. Similarly, hunger-strike was resorted to by the members of a priests' corporation to get compensation and exemption from forced carriage of loads. The king had to yield to their demands. It is worthy of note that forced labour was a characteristic feature of Kāśmīra's administration in olden times. Dr. A. Stein says that 'the nature of the country and the absence of proper roads, renders it necessary to use load-carriers in preference to all other means of transport.'² Thus the system of forced labour (*begār*) was well organised in Kāśmīra specially during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman. No one was exempted from load-carrying, and, on the contrary, one had to carry one's allotted loads. In case a villager did not turn up, he was badly fined. It was this kind of *begār* which the aforesaid *purohitas* resented.³

There are at least two other illustrations where the military went on hunger-strike. In the first case *prāyopaveśa* was held during the reign of king Harshadeva. King Harshadeva was corrupt and

1. "Vīgraharāja, whose hostility had been waxing, by despatching secret emissaries, induced the Brāhmaṇas once more to seek death by fasting. In the hope of receiving bribes the Brāhmaṇas who had once more commenced a hunger-strike were attacked by Tūṅga, who had acquired stability, and driven out" (*Rājat.* VI, 342-43—Trans. by R. S. Pandit).

2. *Rājat.*—translated by M.A. Stein.

3. *Ibid.*

was notoriously known for his immoral character. On one occasion he planned an attack of Rājapuri. But before the conquest of Rājapuri was actually accomplished, he was tempted to capture the fortress of Pṛithvigiri. Consequently, he encamped for this purpose at the foot of the fortress. During the course of stay the garrison was almost exhausted of food and other such resources. The officers wanted to withdraw, but the king would not. Thereupon they 'who were mostly from the ranks... started a hunger-strike with ironical speeches (*ibid*, VII, 1157)'. In the second case the soldiers 'having blocked the entrances in front of the royal palace with drawn swords, held hunger-strikes at every step clamouring for the allowance for the campaign which had accrued due.'

The cases of *prāyopaveśa* were so frequent in Kāśmīra that the officials were also probably appointed to take immediate notice of them (VI, 14). It appears that these officials first interrogated the hunger-strikers and then reported the facts to the king. The latter generally redressed the grievance because of the great force of public opinion.

Śrī R. S. Pandit believes that 'the hunger-strike in Kāśmīra grew out of the Buddhist ideals of self-sacrifice and non-violence'. He supports his statement by the Jātaka stories. But the variety of circumstances under which *prāyopaveśa* was held does not necessarily prove that it was held in the spirit of self-sacrifice and non-violence. On the contrary, sometimes the element of coercion becomes apparent. However, the sacred use of *prāyopaveśa* was definitely abused on a few occasions. It is quite likely that origin of this effective weapon lies in the most non-violent effort to stir the conscience of the oppressor. But later it assumed the form of a political and tactical method to influence others. A truly non-violent application of this weapon was made by Yuan Chwang while he sojourned for a short period in a small kingdom situated between India and China in the course of his journey to the land of the Buddha—India. The ruler of that kingdom did not want, out of sheer love and respect for Yuan Chwang, that the latter should leave his country, though he was determined to depart. When the king failed to persuade him, the biographer Hui-li tells us, he threatened to detain the traveller by force. Yuan Chwang tried his

best to explain his position but in vain; and ultimately having no other way left he sat on hunger-strike (*anafana*). He did not take either his meals or even water continuously for three days and three nights. This act certainly moved the heart of the king who apologised and saw Yuan Chwang off most respectfully. With a similar view Mahatma Gandhi also explained and justified *anafana* (fasting). He says : 'Those who have to bring about the radical changes in the human conditions and surroundings cannot do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and non-violent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it as it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering by fasting works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed'.

-
1. The statement of Gandhiji issued from Yeravada prison on the 4th Decem., 1932, Quoted in *Rajat*, translated by R. S. Pandit.

A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF INDIAN PLACE-NAMES

By

V. K. Matbur, M.A.,

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Government of India, Delhi.*

The vast extent of India from the point of view of geography makes a study of her place-names a formidable task. Her history goes back to the dawn of human civilisation and her geographical boundaries have covered, for all practical purposes, the entire area of the sub-Himalayan continent. As a matter of fact, her cultural influence has often in history overstepped her natural boundaries on all sides and reached the neighbouring lands known as Greater India. A critical study therefore, of the names of the cities, towns, villages, rivers and mountains in their various aspects, viz., historical, literary and legendary, presents a difficult problem, for it has, of necessity, to cover a vast field spread over many centuries and many countries. In the present paper, we are, however, mainly concerned with a linguistic study of some of those names as such. Recently, while collecting material for my comprehensive Hindi work on India's ancient places as mentioned in Indian history, legend and literature, I have met with a mass of valuable information bearing on this particular aspect, and in order to discuss it here, I would divide the subject matter under several heads, for the sake of convenience and brevity :—

1. In the first place, in India of the present time, we have a set of Sanskrit *tatsama* names which are almost identical with those found in ancient literature. These present no difficulty in the matter of identification, as they have remained unchanged since ancient times. A few examples are given below :—

काशी (first mentioned in the वेदसाहित्य of the ऋग्वेद and subsequently in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, the Mahābhārata and the later works, both Sanskrit and Pali), वाराणसी (a later name of Kāśī often occurring in the Mb. and works of later literature), राम (Rām. and Mb.), अयोध्या (Rām.) मथुरा (Rām. Mb. etc.), इतिहासपुर (Mb. and Buddhist literature), द्वारका (Mb.), गया (Rām. Mb., Buddhist literature),

कनकल (Mb., Kālidāsa's Meghadūta), लंका (Rām.), मानसर (Rām., Mb.), हिमवान् (Kālidāsa) कैलाश (Rām., Mb.), उद्यादि (Rām, Mb.), विष्णु (Mb.), रंग*, यमुना (earliest reference is in R̥igveda), नर्मदा (Mb., Rām.), गोदावरी (Mb.), कृष्णा, कावेरी (Mb.) etc.

2. A large number of place-names consist of अव्यंश or तद्धन्व forms of ancient names which can be traced back, perhaps with a little effort, to their originals. A study of the changes in the names of ancient cities from Sanskrit to Prakrit and modern languages during the course of time, enables us to formulate a few general rules which in a number of cases have governed these changes. Taking the case of suffixes in city-names, we find that पुर at the end of the names has sometimes changed into डर, और, ओरा as in लाहौर from लक्षपुर, कुशुर from कुशपुर, सिंगरौर from भगवैरपुर (Allahabad District), एतौरा from हवल or एलपुर; into षर as in पेशावर from पुरषपुर, नरवर from नलपुर (in Gwalior), नंदावर from नतिपुर (District Bijnor, U.P., mentioned by Yuan-Chwang, the Chinese Pilgrim in 7th century), अलवर from आलपुर; पुर has also changed into ओर as in एहोड from अहिपुर (Bombay State) and आर as in कुन्दार from कुन्दपुर or पाटलिपुत्र. पुरी similarly has changed into ओली or ओरी as in मडौली from मडुपुरी (near Mathura) and राजौरी from राजपुरी (in Kashmir). नगर has changed into नार or नारा as in गिरनार from गिरिनगर (Kathiawad) and कुशीनगर or कुशीनारा from कुशीनगर and नेर as in सांगानेर from सांगानगर (Jaipur), बीकानेर from बीकानगर etc. प्रस्थ has usually changed into पत as in पानीपत from पानिप्रस्थ, सोनपत from सुवर्णप्रस्थ, बागपत from वृक्षप्रस्थ or व्याघ्रप्रस्थ (in district Meerut, mentioned in the Mb., कविरचंड, वृक्षचलं भाकरीवारपावतम्, उद्योग 31. 19) and इंदवत from इन्द्रप्रस्थ. राष्ट्र has changed into रठ as in सीरठ from सीराष्ट्र and मेरठ from मयराष्ट्र and स्थान into थान or तान and ठान as in मुलतान from मूलस्थान and पंडान from प्रतिष्ठान. स्थल has similarly become थ as in कंथल from कपिस्थल, बन becomes एन as in गुमेन from गुम्बवन (in district Guna, M.P.) where an inscription of Gupta era 116=435 A.D. was found and बुधैर from बुद्धवन (Bihar). बती becomes भीती as in ललतीती from लक्ष्मणावती (Gaur in Bengal) अमरीती from अमरावती and

* There is no reference to the River Gaṅgā in the *R̥igveda* mantras. *R̥igveda* proper does not constitute *śilāśrīps* where, of course, a reference to Gaṅgā is to be found. The Aryans did not advance as far as that river in the *R̥igvedic* period.—Editor.

sometimes थोई as in बभोई from बभोवती. पट्टन or पत्तन has sometimes changed into पट्टम as in थोरंगपट्टम from थोरंगपट्टन and विविमपट्टम from विविमपट्टन, हट into हट्ट as in सिलहट्ट from श्रीहट्ट, गिरि into गेर as in मुंगेर from मुग्गगिरि or मोदागिरि (its name मोदागिरि is mentioned in the Mb. 'अथ मोदागिरी चैव राजानं बलवत्तरम्, पांडवो बाहुवीर्येण निजघान महामुघे') or into भर or यर as in थालियर from गोपगिरि, भूषित has become हुत as in तिरहुत from तोरभूषित or हीरी as in जुमोती from जंजारु भूषित. Apart from these common suffixes in city names, the names of many towns, rivers etc., have changed into forms which can be easily recognised, e.g., कम्भीज is काम्बोज, नोमसार नंमिनारण्य; रुमिनीदेई, लुंबिनी (birth place of the Buddha, in Nepal); कसिया, कुशीनगर; कोसम, कोशाम्बो; सियालकोट, शाकल; राजगीर, राजगृह; नविया, नवद्वीप; राबो, इरावती; राप्ती also is इरावती; बेहट्ट (current in Kashmir) is बिलहता or सेलम; सतलज, शतुद्रि; बियास, बिपासा; चिनाब, चंडभादा; वेतवा, वेत्रवती; चंबल, चम्पवती; सोन, शोण; and टीस, तमसा (mentioned in Rām, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti etc.).

The Prakrit stage of some of the old Sanskrit names is typified by such names as सावयी for सावरती (District Gonda, U.P.), लुम्पिनी for लुंबिनी (in Asoka's inscription), कुशीनारा for कुशीनगर, महिस्तती for माहिस्तती (M.P.), राजगृह for राजगृह (in तीनकजातक) मद्द for मद्र (in Punjab, mentioned in कुशाजतक), तषकसिसा for तक्षशिला, (भित्त-पुष्पकजातक), पुष्कलाओति for पुष्कलावती i.e. चारलहा in Dist. Peshawar, पुष्कपुर for पुष्पपुर-गटसिपुत्र (Mahāvamsa 18, 8) पुष्कावती for पुष्पावती (occurring in मापवानलकथा, a Prakrit work composed by Kuśalalābha in 1620 A.D., it is modern बुठ, Dist. Bulandshahr, U.P.).

3. An interesting category is formed by the Sanskritized or Indianised forms of certain foreign place-names. चीन which occurs in the Mb. (चीनाच्छहस्तया चीनान् इवैरानुबन्धात्मिनः, सभा० 52, 23; यवनाश्चीनकाम्बोजा बहवः श्लेच्छजातयः, भीष्म 9, 65; तथैव रमणाश्चीना स्तथैव...; भीष्म 9, 66 and in कालिदास (चीनांशुसमिद्धकेतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य, अभितान शाकुंतल, Act I, 30) and several Purāṇas and Kauṭilya's Arthashastra, is such a word. In the following verse from the Mb., सभा 31.72—अंताली चैव रोमा च यवनानां पुरं तथा, दूतंरेव यज्ञे चक्रे करं चेनामवापयत्, अंताली is Antiochus, a town in ancient Syria, रोमा is Rome, यवनपुर is identified with Alexandria in Egypt. Again in the same epic, we have some other strange names—इवक्षोः स्वर्णा ललाटाक्षान् नानादिभ्यः

समयतान्, औलोकादग्नावासाश्च रोमकान् पुडुषादकान् (सभा 51, 71). इयं here has been identified with Badakhshān near Hindukush, Afghanistan, अथ with तरक्षान in Afghanistan, ललाटाक्ष or ललताक्ष with ललाज in Kashmir and रोमक is of course Rome. It is amusing to note that in Sanskrit adaptations these names are made to appear as words with definite meanings. Thus द्व्यक्ष is 'two-eyed', त्र्यक्ष three eyed, ललाटाक्ष 'one having eyes on the forehead.' Similarly, बाल्हो or बाल्हिक in Mb. refers to Balkh in Afghanistan. गंधार, inhabitants of which are called गंधारी in R̥gveda, 1,126, 18 and Atharvaveda 5,22,4 and which still lives in the form of कंगार in Afghanistan, cannot however be regarded as a Sanskritized name and seems to be the original form. अलक्ष्म in the Buddhist text known as Milinda-pañho (see Trenchner page 83) is an adaptation of Alexandria where at Kalasigrama, Milinda or the Greek general Menander is said to have been born. The word ऋषिक occurring in the Mb. (ऋषिरेष्वपि संघामो बभूवति भयंकरः, सभा० 27, 26; ऋषिका विदग्धाः काकास्तं गणः परतंगताः, भो० 9,64) is said to be the Sanskrit form of 'Yuchi', who inhabited parts of Chinese Turkistan, before the Christian era. The Kushans were a branch of the Yuchis. In the भोमपर्व of the Mb. (chapter 9 etc.) we have an abundance of such foreign names which have been Sanskritized but which are not easily identifiable, some of them being सहृदगृह, रमय, दशमालिक, लागीर, गिरिगह्वर, तोमर, हृदयमान, करभञ्जक etc.

4. It appears that some place-names in Sanskrit were either adopted from local dialects of India unchanged or, in slightly Sanskritised forms. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal thus pointed out that the name ताम्रलिप्ति (a port in ancient Bengal) occurring in the Mb. and later literature (cf. सप्तर्षेण निश्चितं चंद्रसेनं च पाण्डितं, ताम्रलिप्तिं च राजानं क्वंटाधिपतिं तथाः, सभा०) was the Sanskritised form of तावलि or तामिलि meaning Dravidian. As a matter of fact, इंद्रो in his दशकुमारचरित writes this word as दामलिप्त which is nearer to तामलि. It seems that the well-known names in the Rām. किष्किन्वा, पंग, लंका etc. were adopted from local dialects prevalent in Southern India in the time of this epic. कैलाश in the same way, may have been originally a word of some Tibetan dialect. It occurs in the Rām. and subsequent literature, (कैलाशं पांडुरं प्राप्य हृदया पूर्व भविष्य' Rām. किष्किन्वा 43, 20).

Now we come to an important topic in the study of our place-names and it is a probe into their real or probable origins. I may classify the results of such an enquiry as follows :—

(i) We know, in the first place, of a large number of ancient janapadas which became famous after the names of their first inhabitants. As a matter of fact, this was a common characteristic of most of the janapadas of ancient India, which owing to this fact, were often referred to in the plural form, e.g. कुरुवाः, पांचालाः (Delhi and U.P.), मागधाः (Bihar), मल्लाः (East U.P.), वत्साः (Dist. Allahabad, U.P.) अंगाः (Bihar) etc. etc. I quote at random a few passages—‘अंगे नरसाङ्गं स राजा सीत् सप्तजित्’ (Mb. शान्ति 5, 7), सम्पश्यते कतिपय दिनस्थापि हंसा दत्ताणीः (मेघ. 1, 25), विसृजति क्षेममेव भातुकारिचराय तरिमन् कुरुवः चकासति; किराताङ्गं नीयम्, 1, 17, Cf. also the well-known Puranic verse ‘अनुगंगा प्रयागञ्च साकेतं मगधास्तथ; एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यते दन्तवंशजाः’. The famous sixteen janapadas of north India mentioned in the Buddhist text अंगुत्तरनिकाय were mostly also the names of their earliest inhabitants. The fact that places were usually known after the people who were associated with them, is also clear from the reference to the गंधारी in the R̥gveda and Atharvaveda (see above) who gave their name to the जनपद known as गंधार in later times.

In comparatively recent times too, we have similar examples, बुन्देल खंड known after the Bundela Rajputs, being one of the more prominent ones. The close connection between a place and its people is often clear by many names current even now. Thus माथुर is a resident of Mathura, सरयूशरी is one who lives across the river Saryū, and in Urdu usage too we have such surnames as बदायूनी, रलीहाबादी, लखनबी, बनारसी etc. But here the process may be said to have been reversed, as residents are known after the places they belong to and not *vice versa*, as in the examples from ancient literature above.

(ii) Many towns of ancient India became famous after the names of their founders. The following are some of the examples : चंडा capital of अंग (Bihar) was named after चंड (चम्पस्यतुपुरी चंडा वा मालिन्धमवनपुरा, Mb. शान्ति, 5), अंग itself being known after अंगवरोचन as is indicated by ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, 8, 22, and confirmed by the Mb., निषिला (Bihar) was named after निषि, son of निषि (Ram.

1, 71, 3), कपिलवास्तु (Nepal) after the sage कपिल (cf. सीन्दरनंद by अश्वघोष, 1, 57, कपिलस्य च तस्यैवैतस्मिन्नाध्वन् वास्तुनि, यस्मात्तत्तत्पुरं च नुस्तस्मान् कपिलवास्तुतन्), तक्षशिला and पुष्कलावती (Western Pakistan) after तक्ष and पुष्कल, sons of Bharat (तक्ष, तक्षशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते, गंधर्व देशे रुचिरे गांधार विषये ये च सः, Ram. उत्तर, 101, 11), हस्तिनापुर (District Meerut, UP) after महाराज हस्तिन् (Mb.), गया (Bihar) after राजविषय (राजविजा पुष्पहता गयेनानुपपद्यते, Mb. 95, 9) जनकपुर (Bihar) after जनक (Ram.), देवपादन (Nepal) was similarly named after देवपालप्रतिप by his devoted wife वासुमती, daughter of Asoka Maurya, in about 250 B.C. From the विष्णुपुराण 4, 1, 64, we learn that रवंतक or Mt. Girnar in Kathiawad, became so known because of association with रवंत the King of कुशावती or द्वारका and father of रेवती, wife of बलराम. He was the son of आनंत after whose name the country of आनंत or Kathiawad became famous ('आनंतस्यरेवत नामा पुत्रो जज्ञे', विष्णु 4, 1-64). In historical times too we know of such names as किरोजपुर, उदयपुर, किरोजाबाद, भकवरपुर, जहांगीराबाद, शाहजहापुर famous after their founders. भागनगर (the original city of Hyderabad) was founded by Sultan Kutubshah of Golkunda in 1591 in the memory of his beloved queen भागमती who belonged to this place.

Sometimes, cities were named to commemorate certain important events. An ancient example is भोजकट in विदर्भ or बरार about which the Mb. (उद्योग 158, 14, 16) says that it was founded by भोज, father of Rukmini, at the place where Śrī Kṛishṇa had encountered the forces of Rukmī, his son, at the time of Rukmini's abduction—and where his armies (कट or कटक) had camped 'यत्रैव कृष्णेन रुक्मिणिर्जितः परं वीरहा, तत्रभोजकटं नाम कृतं नगरमुत्तमम् । संख्येन महता तेन प्रभूतं गजद्विजिनः, पुरं तदभुवि विद्यमानं नाम्ना भोजकटं-नृप' । In much later times, Babar, the Mughal king founded the city of काहपुर लोकरी near Agra to commemorate his victory over Maharana Sanga.

(iii) Mythological stories account for the origin of a number of place-names. Such was अश्वनीच near Kānyakubja (Kannauj in U.P.) where the sage ऋचीक had produced one thousand horses by a miracle, in order to satisfy विश्वामित्र, (अत्र काव्यकुञ्जस्य गंगायास्तोर-मुत्तमम्, अश्वनीचं तदद्यापि मानवंः परिचक्षते, Mb. अनुशासन 4, 17). The river विपासा or the Beas is said to have been so known by its having

removed the fetters (पाश) from the body of बसिष्ठ who wanted to drown himself— 'तपेवास्य भयाद् बद्ध्वा बसिष्ठः सलिले पुरा, आरुधान् मज्जयन्भीमान् विषाणः पुनरुत्थितः । तदा प्रभृति पुष्पा हि विराजामुःमहानदी, विरम्याता कर्मणा तेन बसिष्ठस्य महामनः (महा० अनुशासन 3, 12, 13). Similarly the river ओघवती near कुल्सेय was believed to have been named after queen ओघवती, wife of सुवर्गन, who through her virtuous deeds, assumed the form of the stream ('पावनायं च लोकस्य हरिश्चन्द्रो भविष्यति, अयं नीचवती नाम स्वामये नानुयात्यति - Mb. अनुशासन 2, 83, 84). यमुना is known in another such legend to have been the sister of यम and hence its name. The name कश्यप or कश्यपमीर according to a story in the Rājatarāṅgī, is said to have been given to this fairest of lands, because of the miraculous exploits of the sage कश्यप who drained off a large lake (मेर or मीर) and rendered it fit for human habitation. The name of अलकनंदा the main stream of the Ganga in the Himalayas probably suggests the Puranic story about the heavenly river descending into the locks (अलक) of Lord Śiva.

Popular legends were also connected with the names of a number of ancient places— गदावसान a place near Mathura was so known because the गदा or mace hurled by Jarasandha from गिरिप्रज्ञ in Magadha, (Bihar), fell at the other end—अवसान at this place—at a distance of 99 yojanas— 'दुष्टा शीरेस्तदा सप्तान् गदा चंद निवेष्टिता, गदावसानं तद्गदायं मवरायाः समीपतः, Mb. सभा 19-25. अहिच्छत्र (District. Bareilly, U.P.), according to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-chwang who visited India in 7th century A.D. was the abode of a certain serpent (अहि) chief, who had built a pavilion or उग्र here after his conversion to Buddhism. मवराष्ट्र or modern Meerut was the home of मयदानव mentioned in the Mb., (अरि० 233 and in सभा 1). चम्पवती or the river Chambal is said to have acquired its name from its having emerged from skin-heaps stored on its bank as a result of thousands of sacrifices performed by King Rantideva, 'महानदी चर्मराशेवत्सलात् सत्तुजे यतः, ततश्चमं चम्पवतीत्येवं विख्याता सा महानदी, (Mb. शान्ति 29, 123,) which legend is also referred to in the मेघदूत I, 47 thus 'ओतोमूर्त्तं भुविपरिजता रतिदेवस्य कीर्तिम्'. काव्यकुञ्ज or modern कन्नौज according to a popular story probably first mentioned in आदिर्वाह of Rām. was known after the hunchback (कुञ्ज) daughters

(कम्पा) of कुशनाभ. According to the well-known hypothesis of the Purāṇas as well as the Mb., जम्बूद्वीप, शालीवर्ष, पल्लवद्वीप etc., were famous after the जम्बू, शाली and पल्लव trees growing respectively in these lands.

(iv) A very large number of places in ancient India, were given names descriptive of their geographical or topographical features. Among the more important examples the following can be cited as being typical, हिमालय (abode of snow), विष्व (the piercing one), अपरांत (the western अपर, coast अंत, cf. तपस्वरास्ताः तीराभ्याः क्षराभीरास्तपाब्जः, दिग्विजय, 2, 3, 16, Mb, Raghuvamśa etc.): पाटलिपुत्र, पुष्पपुर or कुसुमपुर (the city of Patili flowers which abounded here) द्वारका (the gateway, indicating its situation on sea-side), त्रिपत्त (the land of three त्रि, valleys गन्, an apt name of the land comprised by the three river-valleys formed by the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej), भद्रवर्ष (land situated between two hanks, the Doaha of Ganga and Yamuna, in U.P. mentioned in a Gupta inscription found near Bulandshahar), दशगन् (land of ten दश streams गन् in Malwa, cf. 'सम्प्रत्यक्षे कतिपय दिन-स्थासि हंसा दशगन्ः' (Meghadūta I, 25). दशगन् still lives in the name of the river घाघरा flowing in the Bundelkhand area. An interesting example of a place known by its topographical features is that of एहोवर्ष or एहोवर्षपुरी an old name of Warangal, in Andhra. This name is in reference to a very huge boulder of stone which has been lying near the town, since times immemorial.

Under this head we may also discuss some of the river names which in a large number of cases are quite significant and describe sometimes in a poetical fashion the qualities of the particular rivers. सिन्धु thus means simply a goer or specially a racing river from the root सिन्ध् to go, to run; विशस्ता is from the root to pour out or the word may be connected with वितस्ति, a span (Hindi बीता) which obviously refers to its large expanse; चन्द्रावती or the Chenab is one coming from the Chandrahkhāga mountain in the Himalayas, इरावती or the Ravi, as also the राप्ती (U.P.) means a river full of sweet or refreshing water इरा; सतद्रु or the Sutlej is the hundred (सत) branched (द्रु) river; गंगा is the swift goer as the repetition or बीता of the root गन्, to go, signifies. सरस्वती means the

river having many सरस् or lakes, बुबद्बती 'having boulders' or the stony river is the modern घग्घर in the Punjab, तमसा the modern टीस near Ayodhya in U.P., is the river of darkish' (तमत्) water. सरयू means a river with deep lakes, which refers to its deep waters. Its another name घग्घरा (Hindi घाघरा) signifies the rumbling one. शोण the modern सोन (Bundelkhand and Bihar) is the 'scarlet one' and so is the लोहित्य or ब्रह्मपुत्र in Assam meaning the red river. नर्मदा is the river of नर्म refreshment or comfort, and its other name रेवा 'the leaping one' from रेव्, to spring, aptly suggests the up and down course of the river through high mountains and deep valleys. नर्मदा is also known as (मेकरक्या) which refers to its source in the मेकल- mountain in the Vindhya (near Amarkantaka, M.P.). ताप्ती or तापो is the river of warm water. मंडाकिनी, the stream flowing near बिजौट (southern U.P.) is the one flowing (मंत्) placidly (मंत्). Its placid flow (स्तिमितप्रवाह) has actually been described by Kālidāsa in Raghubarī, 13, 48 where he says—
एषा प्रव्रजति स्तिमितप्रवाहा सरिद्विद्वुरान्तरभावा तप्यो, मंडाकिनी भाति नगोपकंडे मुखताप्यतो
कंडगतैव भूमे: (The names of the English rivers Thames and Tay are derived from the Celtic word 'Tam' meaning, 'still', 'smooth', which may be related to the Sanskrit root तन् and the word स्तिमित having the same meaning). The वेतवती or वेतवा (in M.P.) a tributary of the Yamuna, is the 'one abounding in वेत or the cane plants'. This is very true of this river, which is one of the most beautiful in India. गंडोरा or the modern गंडौर is appropriately the deep one (described by Kālidāsa in Meghdūta I, 42, 'गंडोरा या: पयसि सरितश्चेतसीव-प्रसन्ने', गोदावरी is the 'giver of kine', an epithet probably referring to the abundance of forest land near its banks. This river has been beautifully described by Vālmīki, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti who were enraptured by the picturesque scenery of its banks (see रघु. 13, 35, अत्रानुगोदं पृथ-
या निवृत्तस्तरं यथातेन विनीतं शेरः, रहस्यदुर्लभं निषण्णमूर्ध्ना स्मरानि वानोः पृथ-
मुत्तः'). महानदी is the 'big river' as it falls by several mouths into the Bay of Bengal. शुंगभद्रा is the river formed by the junction of two streams, viz., शुंग (i.e. 'lofty' from the high hilly region through which it flows) and भद्रा which has its source in the भद्र mountains. The कृष्णा and the कावेरी the famous rivers of South India mean the dark and the turmeric (yellow) coloured ones, res-

pectively (both these have been mentioned in the Mb., सभा 9, 20, गोदावरी इत्यादिना कावेरी च सरित्तरा). Incidentally, the common Sanskrit name for a river, i.e. सरिता is derived from the root रु to flow. Its collateral root Ri (from which is formed रीति) is found in the names of European rivers as Rhine, Rhone, Rye, Wrey, Roc etc.

(v) A noteworthy feature of some of the ancient place-names is the existence of their duplicates and sometimes even triplicates. I quote below some examples :—गोमती (the river mentioned in the R̥gveda 10, 75, 6 स्वसिन्धो कुम्भया गोमती कवुं मेतुवा सरया-या निरीयते) is the modern गोमल a Western tributary of the Indus. गोमती is also the well-known river of U.P. near Lucknow, which flowed beyond the boundary of the Kosala janapada in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. It was crossed by Śrī Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sitā leaving Ayodhya—'गत्वा तु सुचिरं कां ततः शीतवह्नीं गोमतीं नाम तत्र सरयुं गमाम्' (Rām. Ayodhya, 47, 10.) A third river गोमती flows near Dwārakā in Kathiawad and has been considered to be a holy river since ancient times. Similarly इरावती of the post-Vedic literature is the Rāvi of the Punjab. The same name applied to the Rapti flowing in the districts of Basti and Gorakhpur, U.P. and later to the famous Irrawadi, near Rangoon, Burma. Sarasvatī, was the common name of a number of rivers, flowing in East Punjab, near Prayāg, U.P. and in Gujrat. Sarayū, the famous river flowing by Ayodhyā in U.P. had its namesake in Siam, flowing near its ancient capital, also known as Ayodhyā. The Indian cities वाराणसी, पुष्करावती, बेंगलूर, सशपुर, कुमुदपुर, निधिला, अंबली, चंपापुरी, कंबोज all had their counterparts bearing the same names in Burma, Siam and Combodia where Indians had established their colonies in the early centuries of the Christian era. मातस्यन्त a peak of the Himalayas is mentioned in the Mb. सभा. 28. 'तं मातस्यन्तं शीलेन्द्र समतिक्रम्य पांडवः, भद्राक्ष प्रविशेत्ताव वयं स्वर्गोपमम्' as existing in भद्राक्ष वयं a part of जंझुीप near the खोतान or Khotan river, in S.W. China. It is also a mountain near किर्किथा mentioned in the Rām. किर्किथा 27, 1, 'तदा स बालिनं हृत्वा सुग्रीवमभिविष्ट्य च वसन् मातस्यन्तः पृष्ठे रामो लङ्कामधरोत्' and also रघुवंश 13, 26, 'एतदग्नौ मातस्यन्तः पुरस्तादाविर्भूतस्य बलेनैव शृंगं नवं गयोदय घटनेना च, त्वद्विप्रयोगाभू समं विनुष्टम्'. Similarly, the mount मेनाक was originally in the Himalayas near Kailāsa, and Kṛōṇchagiri—कीर्च निरनतिक्रम्य मेनाकी नाम पर्वतः, Rām. किर्किथा 43, 29; इत्युक्त्वा सीःपुरः

पार्थ प्राग्वीचो दिशं गतः, अयोतरेण कैलासम्वेनाकं पर्वतं प्रति, Mh. सभा 3, 9. Later it gave its name to another mountain lying submerged in the sea, between India and Ceylon—'इति कुरा मति साधो सपुत्रउमंभति, हिरण्यनाभं मंदाकमुवाच गिरिसत्तमम्', Rām. सुन्दर 1, 90. An interesting case of duplicates in pairs, is the name of गिरिव्रज which in the time of the Rām. was the capital town of the केकयदेश—'गिरिव्रजपुरवरं शोषामः सेदुरंजता' Rām., अयोध्या 68 22. It was also known as राजगृह 'पुरे राजगृहे रम्ये मातामहे निवेशने', Rām. अयो० 76, 7. Now, the capital of Magadha in the time of the Buddha was राजगृह the modern राजगीर. Its former name, before Bimhisāra, was also गिरिव्रज 'गदा सिन्धो बलवता मागधेन गिरिव्रजात्', महा० सभा० 19 23. In order to avoid confusion between the two गिरिव्रज the latter was known as the गिरिव्रज of Maghadha in the Buddhist times (see Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 13, page 150). The गिरिव्रज of केकयदेश was identified by Cunningham with the modern गिरजाक or Jalalpur on river Jhelum, Pakistan.

Another well-known case of duplicate place-names is the town of मथुरा or मधुरा which first finds mention in the Rām. उत्तर० 70, 5, 'इयं मधुपुरी रम्या मथुरा देव निमिता'. The southern city of मथुरा the capital of the ancient पाण्ड्य country is traditionally believed to have been named after the मथुरा of the North, probably by the Pāṇḍyans who might have had a connection with the Pāṇḍavas of the Mahābhārata times.

This phenomenon of the double place-names can be explained by the fact of the migration of peoples from their original homes to the different parts of the country as well as to distant lands where they settled and called their new abodes and surroundings by the names of the old places to which they had been emotionally attached. A parallel example may be witnessed in some of the names given by emigrants from England to places of their settlement in America and Australia, etc. like New York, London, Portland and Newcastle.

(vi) Another interesting feature, which we note regarding the names of some of the places, is that owing to the peculiar characteristics of their inhabitants, names of those places became common adjectives denoting those peculiarities, e.g. बर्बर in Sanskrit means a 'barbarian'. But originally just like the English word, it simply meant an inhabitant of Barbary in Africa, cf. बाहरी दिशमागत्य यवनाम्

संस्कृतभा Mb., पृ. 254, 18. At first the Romans used the word 'barbarian' to mean an uncivilised man. That the same sense of the word developed in Sanskrit also, owing to Roman contacts, may be safely presumed. Another similar word in Sanskrit language, viz., पटञ्चर or पाटञ्चर originally was the name of a country situated near अपरमत्तव, or between Mathura and Jaipur—सर्वेयापरमत्तव्यांश्चञ्चरान् Mb., सभा 31, 4. In later usage पटञ्चर came to mean a thief, probably owing to the thievish propensities of some of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting this part of the country. To cite another instance of a similar nature, the word वरद occurring in the Mb., (cf. वरदान् सङ्काञ्चीनरञ्जय पाकशातनिः, सभा, 27, 23) is the name of the rugged land, a part of ददितान in north-west of Kashmir, inhabited by a number of beggarly tribal peoples, from whose name is probably derived the Sanskrit word वरिद. In Hindi too, some such words are quite common; e.g. बांगड़, a dolt, meant originally a man from the बांगड़ tract, in S. Punjab, दहकानी a 'rustic' meant originally one belonging to दहकान in Tajikistan, Southern Russia, जूनवक 'an idiot', was in reality an inhabitant of Ujbegistan also in Southern Russia. These last two words became current in Muslim times, when contacts with these foreign lands were established. In the English language, the parallel examples are Barbarian, Bedlam, Bohemian etc.

(vii) Names of some places, specially port towns, came to be associated with certain commodities exported or associated with them. Thus मरिचवत्तन or मुरचोवत्तन the ancient name of मंगनीर in Kerala, became known by this name because मरिची or black pepper was the chief commodity of export from this port, the name of which was pronounced as Muzarius by the Romans who carried on active trade with this town. Sometimes, a commodity itself became known after the place associated with it, as is the case with the Hindi word सुरती or chewing tobacco which first came to India through the port of Surat, in the time of Jehangir. The Arab traders, in medieval times, first gave the name of सुपारी to betelnut, which went to their country by export from the ancient port of सुवर्दिक् or सुपारा on the western sea coast. Similarly, the fruit of the Carambola tree, the Sanskrit कर्मरंग, Hindi. कमरख, was first brought to India from the ancient Malayan State of कर्मरंग.

(viii) In our ancient literature, there existed the usual practice of calling a well-known place by an equivalent or synonymous name, by translating the word—e.g. गजसाहच्य and नागपुर for हस्तिनापुर गज and नाग meaning an elephant, हस्तिन्; एकोयल for एकशिला or एकशालिवर the ancient name of Warangal, in Andhra; पुष्पपुर in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, 6, 24, (पासायन बातायन संब्रजानां नेत्रोत्तमं पुष्पपुरांगनाम्) for कुमुदपुर or पाटलिपुत्र, modern Patna. Sometimes the names became slightly changed by a process of metathesis or interchange of vowel sounds, e.g. वाराणसी became बनारस and बिनाला or बैनाली modern बसाढ़ in Bihar). बिनाला finds a mention in the Rām. Bālakāṇḍa, and बैनाली is the later form found in Buddhist literature. An interesting example of what probably was a clerical error, is the name of चम्पू a river, mentioned in the विश्व. 2. 2. 36 (चम्पूश्च पश्चिमगिरिनितीत्यसकलास्तथा, पश्चिमं केतु माताश्चैवयं गच्छेति सागरम्) and also referred to in the सिद्धांत शिरोमणि. It has also been listed as a river-name by Wilson in his Sanskrit Dictionary. Now, Professor Pathak, in the Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 226, has proved that चम्पू is only a scribe's error for चम्पू or चम्पू which is mentioned in the Mb. सभा० 50, 20—प्रमाणरागसम्पन्नान् चम्पूरीर सपुद्भगान्, बल्यर्ष वरतस्तस्मै हिरण्यं रजतं बहु and according to a reading in Raghuvamśa 4, 67-विनीताश्च भ्रमातरस्य चम्पूरीर विवेष्टनैः कुक्षुर्वाजिनः स्कंधास्तान् कुक्षुमकेतरान्.

(ix) Some of the prominent rivers and cities in ancient India have one or more synonyms which arose for mythological, historical or geographical reasons. Thus गंगा was also known as भागीरथी and जाह्नवी for its association with भगीरथ and जहन्नु, राजगृह as मगधपुर and बाह्लिकपुर for association with जरासन्ध, son of बृहद्व and King of Magadha, उज्जयिनी as अंबती after the mythological King अंबत, यमुना as कालिन्दी (from its source in the Kalinda mountain), नर्मदा as मेकलकाया (from its having emerged from the Mekala hills) and बहुमपुत्र as लोहित्य or लोहित गंगा from its source in the lake लोहित near धानसरीवर (see कालिकापुराण—बहुमहोद्वात् स्रुतः सोऽयं कासारो लोहिताह्वये, कलासोऽपत्यकायाः तु न्यपतन्तु प्रलयः स्रुतः, तस्यानाम विधिः सचे स्वयं लोहितगङ्गकम्),

(x) Even a casual glance at the beautiful names of Indian rivers, reveals to us the wonderful aesthetic sense of our great ancestors who first named them. It seems certain that the majestic

rivers and lovely streams of this beautiful land made an emotional and imaginative appeal to them. The significance as well as the sheer beauty and sonorous quality of the following names are self-evident—तिन्धु, वितस्ता, द्रावती, सरस्वती, गंगा, कलिदम्भा, मंदाकिनी, घघरा, दोण, वेन्नवती, रेवा, सदावीरा (=गंडकी in Bihar), कावेरी, मंजीरा (tributary of the Godavari on the bank of which the modern town of Bidar is situated), गंधोरा, कृष्णवेना (=कृष्णा), अरुणा (a tributary of the Godavari) निर्विन्द्या (in the Meghadūta), रेगु (=रेहग, District Mirzapur, U.P.) स्वर्गरेखा (Bihar), चित्रवेना Mb., भोज्य, 9,17 and चित्रोत्पला (Orissa) and भलकनंदा. I believe the aesthetic quality of our river-names is of an exceptionally high order and may form the subject of a separate paper.

(xi) There are a number of places mentioned in ancient literature, the exact meaning of whose names has so far remained unexplained or only unsatisfactorily explained. Some of these might have been borrowed in Sanskrit from some of the local dialects as may be the case with किष्किंवा, पंवा, लंका, कंलाज, सतपुडा and अरंडो. But some are apparently Sanskrit names but without a definite meaning—e.g. पारिषात्र or पारिषात्र (Western Vindhyas) कंलाज, नालंदा (the popular explanation नालंदाति-इति is not quite satisfactory), मासवान, ऋक्ष (A part of the eastern Vindhyas), उत्तरी बीज ('उत्तरीबीजं मैनाकं निरिष्वेत च भारतं' Mb. वन 139), युगंबर (युगंबर इधिप्रादय उविषा वाक्युत्तरस्थले Mb. वन, 129.9, यकुत्लोम अंतरेण यकुत्लोमान् शूरसेनांश्च पांडवाः, लुग्या ब्रुवाणा मासवस्य विषयं प्राविशन् वनात्, Mb. विराट 5,4). However, a few such names are capable of being explained although with some effort. मेकल for instance is the part of the Vindhyāchala, near अमरकंटक from where the नर्मदा takes its rise. The word seems to be a slightly changed form of मेखल which is actually used by the Sanskrit poet राजशेखर in his panegyric on the exploits of King महीपाल of Kannauj (10th century A.D.). मेखल or मेखला means a girdle and this mountain lying between the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, girdles them together, as it were. Similarly the name of the mount मैनाक in the Himalayas mentioned both in the Rām. as well as the Mb. in association with मयदानव may be explained by breaking the word into मय and नाक i.e. the heaven or the lofty place of Maya.

(xii) Some places, on grounds of similarity in names, have been wrongly identified in local traditions. An example in point is विराटनगर the capital of मत्स्यदेश in the time of the Mb. It is in reality the modern town of बिराट in district Jaipur, Rajasthan, which was included in the ancient मत्स्यजनपद. But there are other places known as बिराट, - one in district Almora, U.P., another in Orissa for which the honour of being the capital of King Virāt is wrongly claimed by the local tradition. Similar is the case of कुंजिनपुर the city of Rukmiṇī, the fair princess of विरट and the favourite spouse of Kṛishṇa. This in fact is the modern कुंजिन near Amraoti, in Maharashtra, an area comprised in the ancient विरट, कुंजिनपुर or कुंजिनपुर in district Bijnor, U.P. and another in dist. Etah (U.P.) is erroneously referred to in the local tradition as the city of दक्षिणगौरी simply because the names have similar sound. Another example is लच्छागिरि in district Allahabad, which is wrongly said to be the site of लक्ष्मणगृह mentioned in the Mb. This in fact was near हस्तिनापुर and should be identified with बरनावा or बारणावत because बारणावत is mentioned in the Mb. as the place where the Lac-house was built and it was quite close to हस्तिनापुर. बरनावा and हस्तिनापुर are both in the district of Meerut.

(xiii) We come across in our ancient literature, such as the Rām., किरिकयाकांड, Mb., सभा, भीष्म etc., विष्णु पुराण and other Purāṇas as also in Buddhist texts such as the सुवाराजजातक a host of names of countries, rivers, mountains and oceans, as हरिवंश, पल्लवद्वीप, शीरसागर, घृतसागर दक्षिणद्वीपसागर, अग्निमाली-जम्बू (in the Sūpāraka Jataka), which are clear in meaning but their exact geographical significance is not known. In most such cases the descriptions are deeply coloured by imagination and poetic fancy. But in a very few cases the names and descriptions may be found to accord with geographical facts. The great Vālmiki, for instance, says in the Rām., किरीकाकांड that at the end of the Northern Region, beyond the mount Meru, there is eternal darkness, because of the absence of Sun, but the सोमगिरि or the 'Moon mountain' emits a light which serves the purpose of the sun—'तमसि कश्चि संलेख्यतः पदसंनिधिः, तत्र सोम गिरिर्नास, मध्ये हेम मयो महान्, स तु देशो विमूर्धः सति तस्य भासा प्रकाशते', विष्णुपुराण, 2, 8, 22 also refers to it as a land of perpetual day or night (तस्माद्विष्णुत्तरस्यां वैदिवाराणि सवेवह, सर्वेयः द्वीप वर्णाणां मेघवत्तरणो यतः, प्रभा विवस्वतो रात्रावतं गच्छति भास्करे, विश्वयः सतो रात्रोद्विहन्तुं रात्रकाशते.)

These descriptions certainly refer to the phenomenon of Northern Lights or the Aurora Borealis seen in the regions near the North Pole. This of course reveals the wonderful knowledge of the geography of such remote lands, possessed by the Indians of an age as early as that of the Rāmāyaṇa. But this forms a subject of independent study which is outside the scope of the present discussion.

HISTORY OF CHĀTSŪ

By

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Chātsū is about 26 miles south of Jaipur. It was originally called Tāmbāvati-nagara. The place was next called Paohpavati and is said to have been so named after Rājā Paohpa. No epigraphical and literary information is available about these names but they are known to us only from the local traditions. The third name which the place received was Champāvati. From it, the town Chātsū derived its name. It was in existence even in the sixth century A.D. The antiquity of the city is clear from the ancient wall which is practically desolate. There are clear signs of a reconstruction of this wall in about the 14th century A.D. but there are no means of ascertaining when the original wall was built.

Chātsū was ruled by Guhilotas from the sixth century A.D. They were originally Brāhmaṇas. This dynasty was founded by Bhartṛipaṭṭa who has been described as Paraśurāma endowed with both priestly and martial qualities.¹ Thus, the founder of this dynasty was a Brāhmaṇa by caste but performed the feats of Kṣatriya. This dynasty seems to have been named after its ruler Guhila, third in succession from Bhartṛipaṭṭa. His son Dhanika constructed a step well at Nāgara near Uniyārā in 684 A.D. for the use of his subjects for performing the *abhishheka* of Śankara and for acquiring religious merit.² This locality is about 50 miles south of Chātsū. This Dhanika seems to be different from Guhilaputra Dhanika mentioned in the record found at Dabok in Udaipur State.³ Dhanika of Dabok inscription is said to have ruled in Dhavagarta (the present town of Dhor in the Jahazpur district of the Udaipur State) as a feudatory of Dhavalappadeva who is probably Maurya ruler named Dhavala. But the record of Dhanika found at Nāgara contains no reference to any overlord. Both Nāgara

1. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 12, p. 10.

2. *Bhārata-kosmudī*, Part I, p. 267.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 20, p. 122.

and Dhod are situated at a long distance from each other. Besides, the date of the inscription of Dahok is confusing. Dr. Bhandarkar read the date as 407 G. E. (725 A. D.) but Mr. R. R. Haldar reads it as 207 H.E. (—813 A.D.). Even if we suppose the reading of the date of Dr. Bhandarkar, Dhanika of the record of Dabok seems to be different from Dhanika found in the Nāgara inscription in time. Dhanika was succeeded by his son Auka.

The later Guhila rulers were the feudatories of the Pratihāras and fought on behalf of their masters. After Auka, his son Kṛishṇa became the ruler. Kṛishṇa who flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century, seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja whose kingdom extended from Malwa to Jodhpur. Kṛishṇa's son and successor was Śankaragaṇa who defeated a general of the Gauḍa king and presented the latter's kingdom to his overlord. The Gauḍa king was Dharmapāla and the king who was Śankaragaṇa's overlord was apparently the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. Śankaragaṇa obviously helped Nāgabhaṭa II in wresting the kingdom of Kanauj from Dharmapāla. Śankaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Harsha who was a feudatory of the Pratihāra Bhoja. Harsha claims to have conquered the kings of the north and presented to Bhoja horses which were expert in traversing the Sindhu. This seems to refer to Harsha rendering assistance to Bhoja in conquering the Eastern Punjab. Harsha was succeeded by his son Guhila II who is said to have conquered the king of Gauḍa and levied tribute from the princes of the east. He seems to have joined Bhoja or helped Mahendrapāla in conquering the Gauḍa country by defeating king Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty. Some silver coins discovered at Agra bearing the legend Śrī Guhila are ascribed to him. He married a Paramāra princess who gave birth to a son named Bhaṭṭa. Bhaṭṭa who succeeded his father, seems to have been a contemporary of the Pratihāra Mahipāla I. He defeated the king of the Deccan at the behest of his master. He apparently joined hands with the Chandellā Harsha to help Mahipāla in his war against the Rāshtrakūṣa Indra III. Bhaṭṭa's son and successor was Bālāditya who married a Chāhamāna princess, the daughter of king Śivarāja. Bālāditya erected the temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu) in commemoration of his wife who died there.¹

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 12, pp. 10-12.

The rule of the Guhilas over this place is also inferred from the name of the tank *Golerāva* here. It appears to be the corruption of *Guhilarāja*.

After the Guhilas, this place seems to have come under the possession of Chauhānas. Hammīradeva, the famous ruler of Ranthambhor who became the ruler in 1283, after his *digvijaya* returned home while passing through Champā.¹ After that, it was seized by Muslims. A persian inscription of 1381 A.D. contains the name of the old *Paragānā* of Chātsū and the name of the king is missing.² It was also ruled by the Khaljis of Malwa. An inscription of the reign of Ghiyāsa Shah in 1481 A.D. has been found engraved in the temple of this place.³ Even *Siddhachakra Yantra* was installed here in the Jaina temple in 1491 A.D. in his reign through Muni Ratnakīrti, the pupil of Prabhā Chandra by Tilā and Mādhava with the members of the family.⁴ This indicates that Ghiyāsuddin though Muslim, was tolerant in the matters of religion. He was religious minded and devoted much of his time to prayers. He loved peace. In his time, the religious activities both among Hindus and Jains continued.

But soon, Chātsū was taken by the Sisodiyās of Mewar. Mahārāṇī Kumbhakarna, the most powerful ruler of this dynasty who ascended the throne in about 1433 A.D. conquered this place.⁵ In the time of Mahārāṇī Saṁgrāmasīnha (1509 A. D.—27 A. D.), Rāvala Rāmachandra Solanki was ruling here from Todāraisīmha as his feudatory. After that, it came under the control of Rāthoḍa

1. *Hammīra-nāṭikāya*, IX, 99.

2. *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairāta*, p. 5.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Inscription on *Siddhachakra-yantra* in the Jains temple of Śāvalaji at Āmer or Amber

संवत् १५५८ वषे वैशाख सुदी ३ श्री गुरुसंवेनचाम्नाये बलाकारणये सरस्वती गच्छे
कुन्दकुन्दा चार्यान्वये म. श्री पद्मनंददेवा तत्पदं म. श्री प्रभाबन्द देवा तत्पदं सिम्प
मुनिरत्न कीर्ति तदुपदेष्टात् सुरिताण गयोसुदीन राज्ये चंदावती नगरे राज परिवार विद्यमाने
खंडेलवालान्वये अजमेरा गोत्रे संवहो धेला भार्या सुहृद् तत्पुत्र संघो पदारथ साह परदा,
साह आवा, साह नाथ, साह सुतो, सं पदारथ भार्या सं गुजर तत्पुत्र टीला माधव एते
बृहति सिद्ध चक्र यंत्र निर्य्य प्रणमति ।

5. Rāṅapurn Jaina Inscription of 1439 A.D. published in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1907-08, p. 214-15. See also the fourth slab of the Kumbhālgarh Inscription of V.S. 1517, published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 21, p. 277.

Vīramade, the ruler of Merta as it is known from *prāśasti* of the *Śaṭa-pāhuḍa* written in 1537 A.D.¹ and the *Kalpasūtra* of 1538 A.D.² But soon, the great Rāthoḍa Rājā Māladeva of Jodhpur defeated him and took possession of this place. He appointed his vassal Sūrata Siṁha to rule over this principality.³ Finally, Bhāramala, the king of Āmer began to rule here because a copy of the *Upāsakādhyāna* was written during his reign in 1566 A.D.⁴

Chātsū also remained a seat of religious activities. Buddhism seems to have been in existence in very early times but not in flourishing condition. Only, the head of Buddha was discovered.⁵ In the 10th century, Bālāditya, the Guhila ruler constructed the temple of Murārī in the memory of his wife.⁶ The name of *Śiva Dūngarī* here indicates that at one time, some temples of Śiva were on it. In the eastern extension of the city is a temple of the 10th or 11th century A.D. Its doorway is decorated with a figure of dancing Śiva and the extant portion of its *mandapa* is supported on well carved pillars of stone. Over this temple, a later temple known as *Chaturbhujajī kā Mandira* was constructed in the reign of Mahārājā Mānasīṁha of Āmer.⁷

Jainism may be traced here from the very early times. The temple which crowning the hill known as *Śiva Dūngarī* was originally a Jaina temple but now appropriated to Śiva worship. The shrine door is doubtless old perhaps as old as the eighth century A.D.⁸ This definitely proves that in the eighth century A. D., there were Jainas who worshipped this temple. Even in the reign of the Muslim ruler Ghiyāsuddin, the religious activities of the

1. *Prāśasti-saṁgraha*, p. 94.

2. *Prāśasti* of a copy of the manuscript named *Kalpasūtra* in the Abhayagranthālaya, Bikaner.

संवत् १५६५ वर्षे शाके प्रवर्तमाने श्री ऋषभ गोत्रे । श्री जोहोणेवा शाखायाँ कोठारी चतुर्भुज पुत्र चाहणदे—पुत्र पीत्र सुतेन श्री कदा पुस्तकं कारयय म. श्री सिद्धसेनसूरिभि. प्रदत्तवान वा श्री—शुभ भवतु श्री चंपावती नगर मध्ये राजि श्री बीरमदे विजय राज्ये ।

3. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. 4, p. 533.

4. *Prāśasti-saṁgraha*, p. 94.

5. *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat* by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, p. 5.

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 12, p. 10.

7. *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*, p. 5.

8. *Progress Report*, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, p. 49.

Jainism continued. Under the Solanki ruler Rāmachandra, the feudatory ruler of Sangrāma Siṃha, Jainism flourished exceedingly. He was the patron of Jainism. Several copies of the manuscripts were prepared and the installation ceremony of the images took place.

Even Jainism continued to develop here during the reign of the Kachachhāvā rulers. They were tolerant in the matters of religion. In about 1575 A.D., *Bhaṭṭāraka* Chandrakīrti of *Mūla-saṅgha* seems to have removed his seat from Chitor and established it at this place as is known from the inscription of 1604 A.D. that he was residing at Chātsū.¹ The reason was that Mewar at this time from the political point of view was unsafe and insecure. On the other hand, Chātsū was under the rulers of Āmer who were on friendly relations with the Mughal emperors and were patron of Jainism. This was the time of Akbar who followed the policy of religious toleration. It was, therefore, natural that the activities of Jainism progressed. In 1604 A.D., the pillar of the Jaina temple was erected by Chandrakīrti.² Some copies of the manuscripts were also written by his inspiration. His successors Devendrakīrti, Narendra Kīrti, Surendra Kīrti and Jagata Kīrti kept their seat here.

The discovery of so many copies of the manuscripts written at Chātsū points out that it was a great centre of learning in the medieval times. Thākura, the noteworthy poet of the *Apabhraṃśa* language lived at this place in the 16th century. He composed some works such as *Kṛipānācharitra*, *Meghamālā Vāyakahā*, *Panehendraiyavela*, *Nemirājamativela* and *Pārśvanāthaśravaṇasattāisi*.³ These works indirectly throw some light on the codition of Jainism in the 16th century at this place. The *Meghamālāvāyakahā* was written in the temple of Pārśvanātha at the preaching of the Pontiff Prabhāchandra who came here from Chitor. He mentions the name of a scholar named Toshaka. The names of the important Śrāvakas are also mentioned. The ruler Rāvala Rāmachandra was ruling here. From the *Pārśvanāthaśravaṇasattāisi*, it is known that Ibṛāhim Lodi attacked Ranthambhor ruled at this time by Rāṇā Sāṅgā.⁴ People of

1. *Annual Report of the Rajasthani Museum, Ajmer*, 1927-28, No. 11.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Anātānta*, year 10, No. 1.

4. *Gulab* No. 404 in the Jaina Śāstra Bhāṇḍara of Ajmer.

Chātsū began to flee in panic. The poets Thākura and Mallinātha prayed to the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Pārśvanātha for help. Soon this danger disappeared by the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at the hands of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. The poet Mallinātha, son of Malhā is known to have composed the *Kohibela*.

A small Muhammadan tomb constructed with the spoils of temples records the martyrdom in a holy war of a certain Gurg Ali Shah at Chātsū in 1572 A.D.¹ It is more probable that the destruction of early Hindu and Jaina temples was the work of the Muslims. In this way, this place also came under Muslim influence for some time.

1. *Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica*, 1923-24, p. 22.

THE YŪPA PHASE IN INDIA AND INDONESIA

By

Dr. Baij Nath Puri

The finds of Yūpas—now numbering 19—mostly in Rajputana, and at Kutei in Borneo, shed new light on the politico—religious history of Northern India and Indonesia from the second to the sixth centuries A.D. The view expressed by R.G. Bhandarkar¹ that there was no Brahmanical revival and renovation before the advent of the Guptas to power, or by R.D. Banerjee,² that the principal work of the Brahmins in the fifth and sixth century A.D. was to reform Hinduism or the orthodox Brahmanical religion from the state of torpor into which it had fallen during the long rule of the barbarians, have to be revised. There was hardly any period of inactivity for the Brahmins and their sacrifices, except during the time of Aśoka, and actually the revival of Vedic sacrifices took place in the time of Pushyamitra Śūṅga.³ Since then these continued to be performed from time to time, and at different places. Brahmanism never decayed during the time of the Kushāṇas, anticipating its vigorous revival and renovation at the hands of the Guptas.

The performance of Vedic sacrifices dates back to the time of Pushyamitra Śūṅga, who performed two horse sacrifices, as is evident from the Ayodhya inscriptions of Dhanadeva, and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa.⁴ Patañjali, the famous commentator, also refers to the sacrifices performed by Pushyamitra (*ita Pushyamitram Yājñamaṇi* III. 2. 123 p. 123 ll 3-4). He also notices Yūpas in a number of references, and mentions the material of their make (*Yūpāyadāru vaikhīṭako Yūpaḥ*). It is interesting to learn that despite Vasiṣṭha, Bauddhāyana, Viṣṇu and Āśvalāyana's injunctions⁵ against the setting up of the Yūpas which had a polluting touch as that of a funeral pyre, or of a woman in her courses, these were set

1. J. B. B. R.A.S. Vol XX. p.356ff.

2. The Age of the Imperial Guptas. p. 112.

3. D.R. Bhandarkar's paper on 'Vedic revival' published in the 'Volume of Eastern and Indian studies,' pp. 29-30.

4. See my 'India in the time of Patañjali' p. 27ff.

5. Itid p. 171

up at different places. In a recent study Dr. B.C. Chhabra has drawn our attention¹ to the area in which these sacrificial posts were set up—Isapur (Mathura), Kosam (Allahabad), Nandasa (Udipur), Barnala (Jaipur), Badhwa (Kotah), Nagara (Jaipur), and Bijoygarh (Bharatpur) in Chronological order from 102 A.D. (computing from the Śaka era), to 371 A.D. (the last inscription being dated in the year 428 of the Kṛita era). The Kutei-Borneo inscriptions—numbering seven, of Mūlavarman, of which the first four were edited by Vogel², and the last three by Dr. Chhabra³, can be dated round about 400 A.D. These suggest that Vedic sacrifices, which were very costly, were performed on a grand scale by rulers and local chiefs who paid handsome *dakṣiṇas* to the Brahmins.

The sacrifices noticed in these records are : *Dvādaśarātra* (Isapur), *Saptasomasaniṣṭha* (Kosam) comprising *Agnishṭoma*, *Atyāgnishṭoma*, *Ukthya*, *Shoḍasin*, *Vājapeya*, *Atirātra* and *Āptoryāma*, *Shashtirātra* (Nandasa), *Trirātra* (Three Maukhari Yūpas, Badhwa)—an amalgam of *Agnishṭoma*, *Ukthya* and *Atirātra*; *Āptoryāma* (A new Yūpa from Badhwa) and *Puṇḍarika* (Bijoygarh). In two cases (Barnala 284; and Nagar (Jaipur) 321) the name of the sacrifice is not mentioned. The term *Saltra* is employed to suggest the setting up of the Yūpa as a commemorative pillar. The inscriptions of Mūlavarman do not mention the names of sacrifices, but record only the donations given by the King to the Brahmins, while the crude stone pillars symbolise the performance of sacrifices for which they were set up.

The sacrificial fee is also mentioned in a few records only. The entire village originally given by the king to Śivadatta, a trusted minister, was given as *dakṣiṇā* (Kosam), but a portion of the donation was reserved for a temple of Śiva which had a *saltra* attached to it. The Maukhari chiefs were equally liberal, and gave the same amount of *dakṣiṇā* as prescribed by the sacred texts (*Sahasra dakṣiṇā triratrā*)—of a thousand cows, 333 were to be given every day in groups of ten, the remaining three were to be given on the last day.

1 India Antiqua. pp. ff. All the inscriptions are noticed in this paper.

2 Bijdragen etc. LXXIV. 167-237.

3. JGIS XII. p. 14-18.

The inscriptions of Mūlavārman present a different picture. One Yūpa inscription mentions the performance of a *Vahusvārṇika* sacrifice; another Yūpa is connected with a gift of 20,000 (or 1,020) kine; and the third with certain donations called *bāhūdāna*, *jīvādāna*, *Kalpavrikshadāna* and *bhūmidāna*. The fourth probably recorded a similar act of munificence of the king. This ruler Mūlavārman was the son of Aśvavarman, and grandson of Kunduṅga,—rather an unusual name,—who was the founder of the line (*Vaṁśa-kātri*). It is suggested by Dr. Chhabra that he was a merchant from Southern India who had settled down in Borneo and became a king, rather than a native of that place whose son embraced Hinduism, as was proposed by Kern. Here we might draw the attention of scholars to the fact that the Yūpas were not confined to Northern India alone. These were set up in other parts of India as well. At Kīram¹ in the Bilaspur district, was found a wooden pillar—a solitary instance—containing a long record in Brāhmī character of about the 2nd century A.D. It has a special feature of not being bent at the top and is surmounted by what appears to be a Kalāśa. A Yūpa Stambha was also brought to our notice in Mysore,² near the Kodadarana temple at the village of Hirimangalar. About a mile and a half from Lalbhagah is Dumapur³, a hamlet of Tipatia, in the Dehrapur Tehsil of the Kanpur district, where, under a tree, one octagonal fragment of the shaft of a pillar was found. Near its existing upper end is the rope wound twice round the shaft with one knot only. The pillar resembles in some respects the two sacrificial Yūpas at Isapur.

These Yūpas from other parts of India, unfortunately escaped earlier attention of scholars, though they are noticed in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. These do not bear dates; but the evidence furnished by Sanskrit works suggest that sacrifices with the setting up of the Yūpas were not an unusual feature, despite the stress on Bhakti and devotion. The References in the *Raghuvamśa* (vi. 38) and the *Mricchakaśika* (Act. 9 p. 220) are clear on this point. Chārudatta had adorned the city of Ujjayini with the setting up of the Yūpas.

1. A.S.I. Ac. Rep. 1921-22. p. 115; *ibid.* 1922-23 p.p. 129, 133.

2. *Ibid.* 1922-23. p. 158.

3. *Ibid.* 1929-30 133-34.

From the above account it appears that the Yūpas, symbolising Vedic sacrifices, were regularly set up in India, and also abroad in Borneo, as suggested by the solitary instance of Mūla-varman. As the Borneo ruler does not mention the nature of the sacrifices performed by him, but he gave donations to the Brahmins, and *Jivādāna* to those defeated by him, it is quite likely that some of the crude Yūpas set up by him, were *Jayastambhas* or 'column of victory' which is mentioned in the *Śabdakalpādrum*. Probably the spirit in raising these columns was different. It was materialistic rather than spiritual, and the donor, despite his benefactions, was more interested in blowing his praśasti-his conquest over the rulers defeated and released by him, rather than in performing sacrifices for gaining religious merit—of which there is no reference.

ZAMINDARS IN THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES¹ UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE.

By

R. N. Nagar, M.A., Ph.D.

The modern zamindari tenure is known to be a creation of British policy. It was Cornwallis who first gave it a new legal status and established it on a firm footing². Zamindars, as a class, had existed long before the advent of the British in India. In fact, they have a hoary history; though what exactly were the privileges attached to their office is often disputed. But even under the later Mughal rule, despite a sharp divergence between theory and practice, it was the system of administration as laid down by Akbar that was acknowledged as the measuring yard of all constitutional propriety. According to this system a zamindar was regarded as a mere middleman³ between the Government and the ryot. He collected the revenue from the ryot, and, for his labour, was entitled to a certain commission thereon. If he possessed land, he engaged for it like any other land-holder. His title, no doubt, tended to become hereditary, just as titles under indigenous system were prone to become hereditary. That did not, however, alter the basic concept. To quote a parallel example, the Kanungo had some specific duties to perform. His office also tended to run in the family. He also came to acquire land; but he did not engage for it in the capacity of being an office holder⁴. It is true, however, that when political convulsions occurred and the seat of government was weakened, the powerful and influential among the zamindars arrogated to themselves the privileges of sovereignty. The local inhabitants acquiesced in them either for fear of reprisals, or for the protection of life and property extended to

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1. The Ceded territories were acquired by the East India Company in 1801 from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh; and the Conquered territories from the Marathas in 1803.
 2. Cornwallis in Bengal by Aspinall p. 172.
 3. Ain-i-Akbari; Abul Fazl.
 4. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Letter from the Collector of Moradabad, 11th Feb. 1906.

them against possible aggression. More powerful the zamindar, greater the powers thus usurped. This was equally true of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces immediately before the British set their foot on this soil¹.

The various land tenures in India grew through the passage of centuries achieving variations under caste and class distinctions and local traditions. They fostered under the strong and abiding ties of the common usages of the village community. These communities became the most stable feature of Indian rural fabric. Their existence remained materially unaffected despite political fermentations and dynastic changes. Hence their long ingrained usages held a powerful sway over the agrarian populace. The most significant of such usages, respected and acknowledged by the Government, guaranteed the inviolability of the rights of the ryots. That this was so in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces as well, becomes apparent by the testimony of contemporary British officers themselves. Newnham, for instance, while tendering evidence before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons, observed, "I believe that the right of the ryot is the greatest right in the country..... This right never seems to die"². Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Central Government, also wrote, "Neither the furthest exile, nor the longest absence, dissolved the tie that bound them to the field of their ancestors, nor destroyed their right to resume possession when they returned....."³.

Before the British occupation, the two widely prevalent tenures of a superior variety in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces respectively were the pattidari and the Bhaiyachara tenures. A hold-

1. For instance, the Acting Collector of Etawah wrote to the Board of Revenue, "When Rajah Gope Singh was in full power and authority, he generally turned out the original zemindars of the country, and at his own free will and pleasure was in the habit of transferring lands actually belonging to Nawaub Vizier and annexing them to those he rented from the Maratha Government, and vice versa of including in the Nawaub's territories land, which, in fact, formed part of the Maratha dominions....." Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, 18th March 1803.

2. Minutes of the evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the affairs of the East India Company Vol. II p. 318.

3. The Government Revenue Records of the North Western Provinces (1818-20) p. 121.

ing of land, a village, or a group of villages was occupied and cultivated, not under the claims of a single individual, but was held jointly under a somewhat complicated but commonly acknowledged and clearly understood pattern.¹ Each person of the family, or of the group, held a specified share in the field. But when the British entered these territories, they were apparently still imbued with the Cornwallisian notion of individual landlordism. So, they introduced here also the same measure, as they had established earlier in Bengal, of vesting zamindars with proprietary rights in the soil at the expense of all other tenure holders. They began by farming the entire land on a three years' lease to the highest bidder². The original land-holders were to have the option of farming their own land provided they offered as high as others and found an adequate security for the fulfilment of their engagements. If they declined, they were to be given the benefit of nankar allowance³. Subsequently, the revenue settlement was to be formulated as outlined in the Governor-General's proclamation dated 14th July 1802⁴. Accordingly, (a) a settlement was to be made in the first year ".....in all practical cases with zamindars or other actual proprietors of the soil (unless when disqualified by notoriously bad character or other good and sufficient cause) for a period of three years at a fixed equal annual jumma". (b) At the expiry of the first settlement, a second triennial settlement was to be made on an increased revenue "with the same persons (if willing to engage.....)", (c) The second triennial settlement was to be followed by a quartenneal settlement on a still higher revenue, and was to be concluded "with the same persons (if willing to engage)". (d) Finally, at the end of ten years, a permanent settlement was to be concluded "with the same persons (if willing to engage, and if no others who have a better claim shall come forward) for such lands as may be in a sufficiently

1. For details, see the Land Systems of British India by B.D.H. Baden Powell.

2. Agra Revenue Records (Misc.) Vol. I (1801-2) Letter issued to the Collector of Gorruckpore 20th June 1802.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Incorporated in the Regulation XXV of 1803 : Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal Vol. I pp. 635-637.

improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure on such terms as Government may deem fit and equitable"¹.

When zamindars were thus vested with proprietary rights, the rights of ryots were submerged almost beyond redemption. A zamindar could now legally dispossess his under-tenant at his will and pleasure. The only measure which afforded some security to the ryot against the excesses of their over-lords was the bestowal by the latter to the former of a patta, which was a written agreement between the two, specifying the amount of rent leviable, beyond which the land-lord could not go². But the rule was obviously, observed more in its breach than in its observance. The Court of Directors had an occasion to write to the Governor-General-in-Council, ".....it has happened.....much to the discredit of the executive authorities abroad that the Pottah Regulation has been suffered to become a dead letter"³. This led to a permanent compromise or destruction of the rights of many an under-tenant.

In the process of vesting zamindars with proprietary rights, the claims of their co-sharing land-holders (the pattidari and bhaiyachara tenure-holders) were also over-looked. Baden Powell explained it thus, "When the co-shared villages of Benares and the Upper Provinces came to the notice of officers accustomed to the Bengal system of individual landlords, they were, at first, quite puzzled. There must be, so they thought, some one person who is the land-lord with whom the settlement of the village estate ought to be made..... What they could not understand was that the title should reside, not in some village head, but in a joint body, under more or less, a complicated system"⁴. But it was strange that it should have so happened in the Ceded and Conquered territories. Apparently, the new administrators had refused to profit from their experience in the district of Benares which they had occupied

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1. The quotations occurring in the Regulation XXV, 1803, cited in the paragraph, are of particular significance in the context of what followed subsequently.
 2. Regulation XXX of 1803 : The Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal Vol. I p. 667.
 3. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 24th November 1815.
 4. The Indian Village Community by B.D.H. Baden Powell, p. 432.

some years earlier, and where similar conditions had prevailed as in the Ceded territory. Holt Mackenzie commented on this lapse in his Memorandum: "It was certainly a singular oversight that they contain no specific regulations for the settlement of estates held by village zemindars, themselves the cultivators of the soil, a class of persons so specifically provided for in Benares"¹. He further stated that they were only 'incidentally mentioned'² in the rules regarding sales of land. Was this omission deliberate? The conclusion is inescapable that it was at least partly so. The Government also showed a marked disinclination in demarcating boundaries between different holdings of land, which alone could have clearly specified the claims held by the co-sharers. For instance, the Board of Commissioners advised the Governor-General-in-Council, "We are far from wishing to propose an argument of expediency to bar the admission of a right, but the minute sub-division of landed property ought, we think, to be guarded against as much as possible; for it is not only calculated to occasion great inconvenience and loss of revenue to Government, but it is the source of endless disputes amongst the inferior land-holders"³. Holt Mackenzie also confessed; ".....in those districts where the admission of parties was more extended, it was still limited to as small a number as possible"⁴. The result was that not only were the interests of numerous co-sharing zamindars compromised, sometimes irretrievably; but, also, a considerable element of confusion was introduced regarding the maintenance of the revenue records. This in itself provided later on a fertile ground for much future litigation and even violent disputes.

The provision of giving the land to the highest bidder had paved the way for another grave evil. It opened the doors to adventurers and fortune hunters. The Collector of Allahabad, for instance, wrote, "Both these evils (decrease in Jumma and extensive permutations of land) originated in the same source, and

1. The Revenue Records of the North Western Provinces (1818-20) p. 123.

2. *Ibid* p. 123.

3. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 30th Nov. 1807.

4. The Government Revenue Records of the North Western Provinces (1818-20) p. 119.

are no more than the natural consequences of the principles on which the settlement was founded in 1210 F.....the general influx of adventurers and speculators, and the desperate fortunes of many amongst the needy adventurers, equally tended to make them indifferent to the consequences of out-bidding each other"¹. How this unhealthy competition fostered corruption was described in the same letter, "An assessment thus carried into unnatural heights could not have possibly continued beyond the period of engagement, had not the same wealthy speculators, who in the name of some of their followers or in fictitious names, taken a large portion of the district in farm, become also the tehseeldars of it—some avowedly in their own names, and some virtually in the name of their dependents"². He further explained, "The claims of Government were made good, because the Tehseeldars were personally responsible for it, and the latter re-embursed themselves by taking from some farm holders private transfers of estate, and by procuring the estates of others to be sold at public auction in satisfaction of the balances"³. In this manner, alongside the original zamindars or in their place, a new class of zamindars, who were so different in character, temperament, and capabilities as compared to the former, was ushered into being. The original zamindar had a genuine attachment with his land, for the prosperity of which he and his ancestors had employed their life's labour, wealth and blood. His interests were closely knit for generations at a stretch with those of his co-sharers and his under-tenants. The newcomer, however, who was naturally, regarded as an intruder by the ryot, had only a grabbing interest in the field. Thus, the newly generated atmosphere was conducive of maladjustment and discord, and even of armed conflict.

The revenue regulations of the Government also proved defective, hence confusing. For example, the words 'actual proprietors' occurring in these regulations were not carefully and clearly defined. The regulations did not clarify whether these words indicated persons in actual possession or those who had a right to possess. The Board of Commissioners wrote to the Governor-General-

1. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 23rd. March 1807.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

in-Council, ".....in instances where a talookdar, upoo whatever grounds, may claim the proprietary rights in the land, while the village zamindars may claim the right of being separated and of paying the revenue immediately to Government, the Regulations do not appear to us to provide any specific rule for determining the question between them..... As the nature of the possession, which the Regulations may have had in view, is not described, as the term 'actual proprietors' is not defined; and as the period of years which it was intended to denote by the words 'length of time' has not been expressed, we find ourselves at a loss to understand with whom the settlement ought to be entered upoo"¹ The reply of the Governor-General-in-Council hardly answered the query². So they wrote again observing that their question remained unanswered as to what action was to be taken when the contending parties claimed occupancy at the same time on the same piece of land³? The element of confusion was further heightened when different collectors gave different interpretation of the relevant clauses contained in the regulations.⁴

The use of English equivalents for Indian terms presented yet another problem. For British civilians the English equivalents held a meaning different to what the indigenous terms carried. That was how the word 'zamindar' translated into 'landholder' came to mean landlord. Thus, again, the term 'sudder malgoozar' came to be misinterpreted. Holt Mackenzie pointed out, "The use of the word zamindar to designate sudder malgoozar has obviously been extremely prejudicial; it having been applied to many who possessed no zamindari rights, and still more frequently to persons holding as zamindars a very little portion of the estate for which they engage"⁵. But considerable injury was already inflicted, part of which proved irredeemable, before the consequences of such mistaken notions began to dawn on the Government.

The Collector of revenue—always an Englishman, imperfectly acquainted with the languages, tenures and traditions of the people,

1. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 30th Nov. 1807.

2. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 15th Jan. 1808.

3. *Ibid.*

4. The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 31st Oct. 1807.

5. The Government Records of the North Western Provinces (1818-20) p. 132.

and being very few in number, either in ignorance or with cool deliberation allowed many a right to be infringed, compromised or even destroyed. Holt Mackenzie stated, "In almost all the reports of the collectors the words 'possession' and 'property' are used without a definition of the nature of the possession or of the property meant; so that when the long possession of the superior land-holders is urged against the rights of the village zamindars, it is difficult to discover whether the property consisted merely in the heritable interest in certain emoluments of office connected with the collection of the Government rent, or was attached to the office itself"¹. The Board of Commissioners themselves acknowledged that, in 1808, when a 'general admission' of the claims of co-sharing zamindars took place, 'sufficient inquiry' could not be made; and that only those persons were admitted as zamindars whose rights were acknowledged by the parties who were already under engagements, or those, in the case of farmed lands, who were pointed out by Kanungos, as descendants of the original land-holders². There was yet another aspect of the problem, as the Governor-General observed in his minute dated 21st Sept. 1815, that some persons were let in farm, not because the proprietors were not forthcoming, but because they could not readily agree among themselves in the choice of a representative or a manager for the whole partnership³. He pointed out, "In these cases as the Collector, during the hurry of a general settlement, had neither the leisure to investigate the allotment of each putteedar's proportion of the aggregate assessment, nor sufficient information in regard to the nature of their tenures, the readiest mode which suggested itself for the security of the public revenue..... was to lease the whole village to a farmer"⁴. Under such conditions it was inevitable that numerous rights were compromised or lost beyond rescue.

Then again, there were no adequate or efficient means at the disposal of the Government to have made the various regulations known and understood to the people, a large majority of whom

1. *Ibid* p. 90

2. *Ibid* p. 120.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*.

were either illiterate or insufficiently educated. The problem assumed serious proportions in the context of the prevailing conditions, and even more so because of the very confused state in which the revenue records were maintained. Consequently, 'infinite mischief'¹ was perpetrated. Parties were entered on record books as proprietors, while real owners were left in possession of the field, only to be divested of their rights at a convenient opportunity by fraudulent means².

Even when a zamindar was secure in his tenure, he was often compelled to face a difficult situation which sometimes became precarious. There were, amongst others, two factors particularly responsible. One was, which became the root of all subsequent troubles, that an excessive and iniquitous revenue was levied at the very start³. And it continued to increase at the end of every settlement. This excessive demand strained the coffers of the zamindars to the limit, and quite often even beyond their resources and endurance. To quote only one from multiple such examples, the former Board of Commissioners reported about the district of Kanpur. "Much too great an anxiety was manifested, suddenly, to draw the utmost revenue; large deductions became necessary as a consequence; but even after these concessions were made, assessment in particular mohals was far from moderate"⁴. Left to face such a situation, a zamindar was compelled to use forceful methods against his co-sharers and under-tenants; or, in the alternative he was forced to quit his land. It often landed him in awful predicaments.

The second factor was the dreaded law of distraint.⁵ If a landholder failed to pay his revenue within the specified time,

1. *Ibid* p. 102.

2. Notes on the North Western Provinces by Charles Raikes pp. 66—67.

3. Henry Newnham, while giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons, observed, "Throughout the territory of Almas Alla Khan it was as high as it well could be with any sort of justice.....and our great mistake was that we levied an increase upon his settlement.....a considerable increase" Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons in the Affairs of the East India Company Vol. III p 320.

4. The Government Revenue Records of the North Western Provinces (1818—20) p. 24.

5. Regulation XXVIII. The Regulations of the Government of Fort William in Bengal Vol. I pp4 661—666.

his land became liable to be sold or auctioned in lieu of the outstanding balances. This law allowed even a zamindar to distraint the property of his co-sharer¹. Since the revenue demanded was excessive, even exorbitant, recourse to such sales became much too frequent. Further, under cover of confusion that had widely prevailed during the first few years of British occupation in these territories, this law was fraudulently applied on an extensive scale and on every available pretext by corrupt subordinate officers of the Government. These extraordinarily large number of sales not only added greatly to the confusion, but also proved ruinous to numerous land-holders, co-sharers, and under-tenants. They congested the law-courts, and even promoted violent internecine disputes.²

In this manner, through the vicissitudes of circumstances an extensive upheaval was brought about in the rural fabric of these provinces. Zamindars were vested with proprietorial rights in the soil, which had not belonged to them before. And, in the process, the rights of the ryot were compromised or damaged beyond repair. Original zamindars were widely dispossessed of their fields. Numerous co-sharers and under-tenants were rack rented. A few people were placed in the position of vantage at the expense of multitudes, who were either relegated to an inferior position, or were beggared, or else, as a desperate alternative, took to crime. It was in the late twenties that the situation could be brought, more or less, under control. But, it was only after the promulgation of the Regulation IX of 1833, and following in its wake, the new revenue settlement begun in 1835 under the supervision of R.M. Bird, that a new era of quiet and content began to dawn on these provinces.

1. *Ibid.* p. 661.

2. Charles Raikes, a contemporary British officer observed, "A war of landholders and decree holders began, which has left indelible marks on the history and condition of people at large—open affrays, nightly assassinations, endless and bloody feuds spread over the land.", *Notes on the North-Western Provinces by Charles Raikes.*

THE ORIGIN OF "HARTAL" IN INDIA.

By

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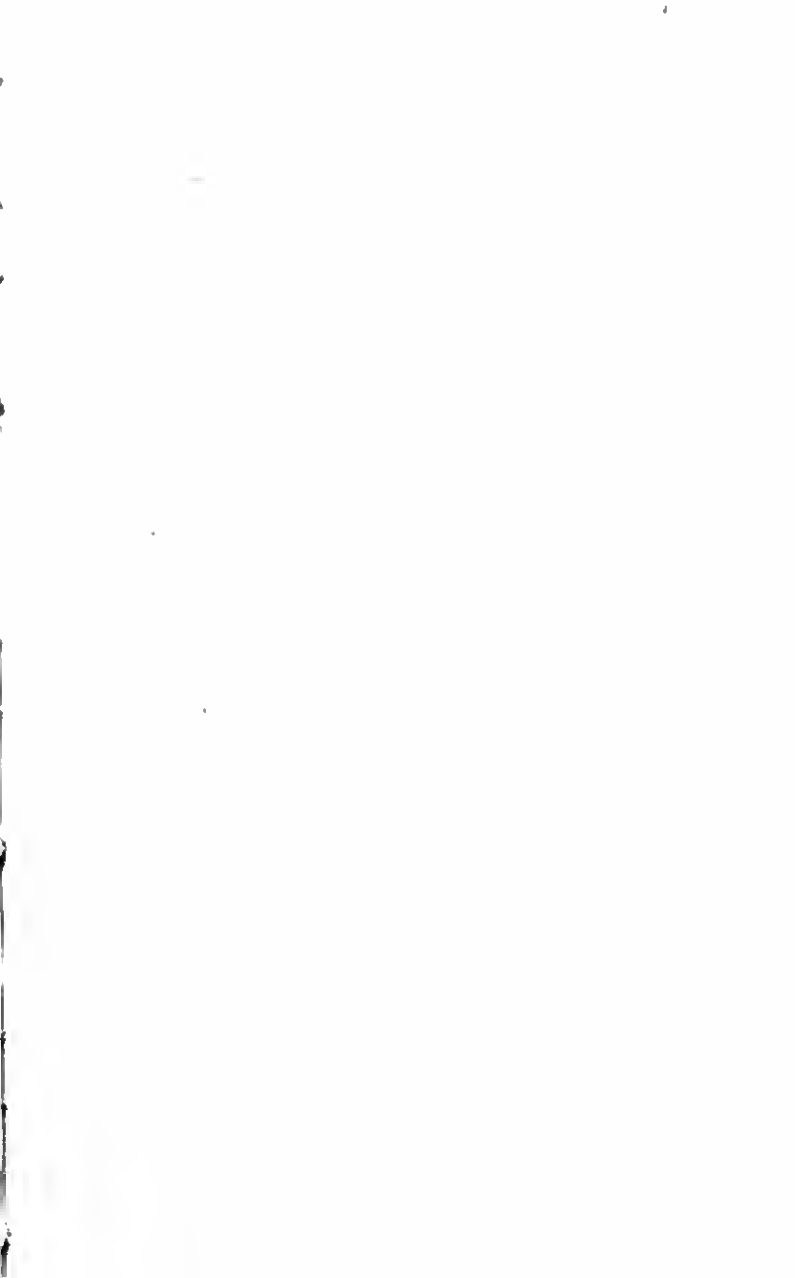
"Hartal" as a mode of popular demonstration against the government is well-known in modern India, but its exact origin is shrouded in obscurity. Recently when I inspected the District Records of the Uttar Pradesh Government, I chanced to notice among Banaras records a very interesting reference to a "Hartal" as a public demonstration resorted to on 24th August, 1790 by the merchants and citizens of Banaras. It is clear that this is perhaps the first known case of "Hartal" resorted to by the people against the government in the British period.

It appears from the records that this "Hartal" was a protest against the regulations issued by the Government for the enforcement of a better sanitation in the city. As these regulations adversely affected the lower classes they indulged in demonstration and rioting. The merchants were compelled to close their shops and stop all business by the angry rioters. The "Hartal", however, was short-lived and the shops were opened after a few hours in the after-noon through the efforts of the Magistrate, Ali Ibrahim Khan.

The description as given in the records is as follows. (Banaras Records, 24th August, 1790, page 451) :—

"This day from the morning till about 4 in the after-noon a vast multitude of the lower classes of the Natives assembled in the outskirts of the Town, with a view of procuring a repeal of the late "Regulations for keeping the Town clean, by having public necessities. Having previously concerted their plan, they had given notice to all the trades people and shop-keepers (many of whom did indeed make part of their body) to shut up their shops and effect what is known in this country under the name of *Hartal* or a complete stoppage to business of every kind; threatening to plunder and rob those who should dare to act otherwise. In several parts of the Town, however, thro' the vigilance of the Magistrate (Ali Ibrahim Khan) and with the residents aid, opened by noon;

and altho' the rioters occasionally threatened they committed no serious mischief, but kept for the most part in one large body which was altogether unarmed and amounted according to the best computation to the number of several thousands; till on some intercourse taking place between them and the residents, 2 or 3 of their head-men at length made their appearance and presented the following petition."





The Temple. A view from the front.

A BENGAL TEMPLE

By

Amarcdra Nath Roy

The Palpara temple at Chakdaha (Dist. Nadia, West Bengal) was noticed by Sir John Marshall in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, year 1920-21 and undoubtedly the temple deserves the praise bestowed by him. It is a brick-built cabin like structure with sloping roof and curved eaves, a type so common in Bengal from later mediaeval times. It has, however, no second surmounting tower and is smaller in dimensions and simpler in design than most of the well-known examples at Vishnupur (Dist. Bankura), Kantnagar (Dist. Dinajpur) and at charbangala and other sites in the District of Murshidabad. The temple measures only 22 ft. square at the outside with a single inner chamber. The entrance is by a doorway facing South with the characteristic pointed arch and there is a small subsidiary doorway opening to the East. Only the Southern side, as usual, is decorated, all the other sides being bare except for sparsely applied full blown lotuses. The corners are broken by a number of parallel bands which enrich the decorative effect and relieve the abrupt transition from the decorated to the bare sides. The simplicity of design and the chaste and elegant decorations applied by moulded bricks make this one of the finest examples of this unusual Bengal type of temple.

The type except for the curved cornice is, however, one of great antiquity as is proved by sporadic examples found in ancient reliefs and is apparently derived from bamboo or thatched hut constructions. The nearest examples found in early Art are as under:—

1. BHARHUT (Indian Museum No. 343-4-5; Allahabad Museum Railing Pillar, illustrated in Dr. Kramrisch's Art of India, Plate 15; Barua, Bharhut, Plate LXXXVI).
2. SARNATH RAILING PILLAR (D [a] II of Sarnath Museum) referable to Śuṅga age.

This appears to be a double storeyed structure like the Bengal Shivalayas and has close affinity with a type of structure represented in two detached Gandhara pieces in the Indian Museum Nos. 5480 and 5075 (Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, Pl. XIV, Fig. 4).

3. The Karori Koti of the Jetavana purchase scene at Sanchi (Marshall and Foucher, Plate XXXIV).
4. Katra mouod torana architrave referable to Kushan times (MI in Mathura Museum; Vogel, plate XXV).
5. AMARAVATI (Sivarama Murti, Amaravati Sculptures in Madras Museum, plate XI).

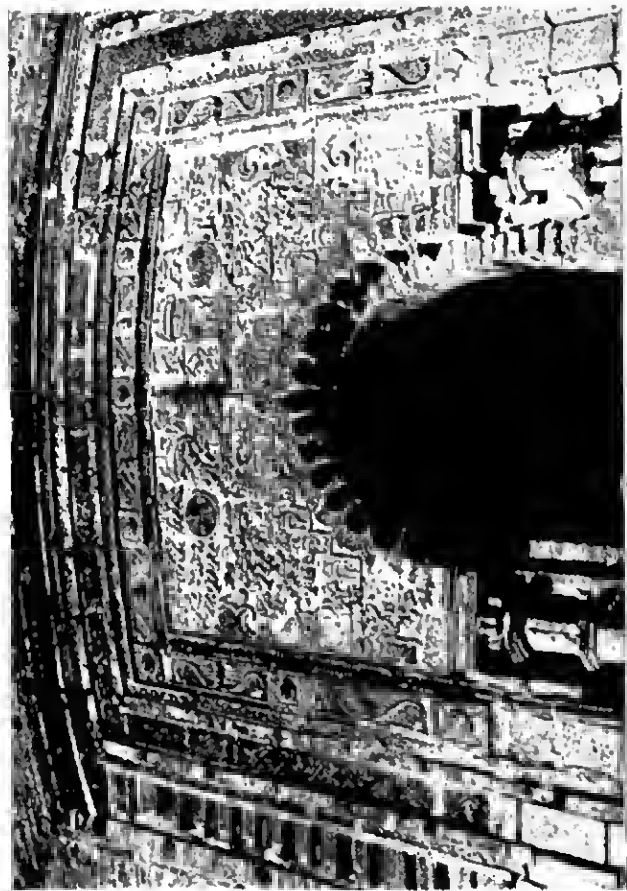
The Draupadi Ratha at Mahabalipuram however, is the earliest extant temple of this type to which the temple under discussion has in many respects close affinities and although the Palpara temple does not share the sophistication of the rock-cut ratha but for all that is equally an attractive composition and deserves more attention than it has so far received. The distinctive characteristic of all Bengal examples are however the curved eaves which are commonly regarded as being derived from the shape of bamboo thatched huts of this region. The facade of the Lomasha Rishi cave already presents a similar shape which persists in such comparatively modern examples as the Chaturdasa Devatā temple, Udaipur (Tripura), (*Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57, Plate LXV).

This type of temple is widely distributed over Bengal and the immediate neighbourhood and examples are found as far East as Sibsagar in Assam (*Indian Archaeology*, 1957-58, Plate CIII).

The emergence of this type as the dominant style of temple architecture in this particular region and at a time coinciding with the rise of popular religious movements and of vernacular literature are facts of great sociological importance.

At present the temple is not in use. Very little moreover can be confidently said about the date of this Palpara temple or the deity to which it was dedicated. The earliest notice of this is found in the list of Monuments, Presidency Division (Bengal).





The Temple Doorway (Main)

J. U. P. H. S. (N. S.),
Vol. VII, Pt. I.

A. N. Roy

It is mentioned there that there were two stone tablets with inscriptions which were removed by the Sub-Divisional Officer but now seem to be irrevocably lost. It is further mentioned rather vaguely that the temple was about five hundred years old and that there was a "*lingam*". The style of the terracotta reliefs with which the entrance is decorated appears to support an early date in view of their affinity with the style of some of the earliest temples of this class. But a systematic study of the development of the terracotta art of Bengal temples is still incomplete and stylistic evidence cannot therefore be relied on to arrive at a definite chronology.

SURVEY OF RUSSIAN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY AND SOVIET STUDIES ON ECONOMIC HISTORY OF INDIA IN MODERN TIME

By

E. N. Komarov¹

By Modern Time Soviet historians usually mean the period from the English Revolution in the middle of the 17th century down to the World War I and the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. In other words it is the period of rise and development of capitalism in most countries of our world. In the subsequent period described as the contemporary or recent period by the Soviet historians, the general crisis of capitalism develops and socialism rises in a number of countries where socialist Revolution has been or is being accomplished.

An interest in the economic situation in India more or less systematic was displayed in Russia as early as the late 18th and early 19th century and it grew in course of time. In the first half

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Main publications : *Zemelno-nalogovaya politika kolonialnykh vlastey i razvitiye agrarnykh otnosheniy v Severo-Zapadnykh provinciyakh v pervoy polovine XIX veka.* (The Land Revenue policy of Colonial Authorities and the Development of Agrarian Relations in the North-Western Provinces in the First Half of the 19th Century; 1959).

Iz istorii natsionalno-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya i obshchestvennoy mysli v Bengalii v Kontse XIX—nachale XX veka. (National Liberation movement and Social Thought in Bengal in the Late 19th and Early 20th century, 1958).

Angliyskaya kolonialnaya politika v Indii I ego sotsialno-ekonomicheskie posledstviya (Kontse XVIII—Pervaya polovina XIX veka) (British colonial policy and its Socio-Economic Consequences in India in the late 18th—First Half of the 19th Century; 1957).

Bengalskaya derevnya I krestyanskoe khozyaystvo vo vtoroy polovine XVIII veka. (Bengal Village and Peasant Economy in the Second Half of the 18th Century, 1957).

K voprosu ob ustanovlenii postoyannogo oblozheniya po sisteme zamindari v Bengali (On the introduction of the permanent settlement in Bengal; 1955).

Materialnoe polozheniye promyshlennogo proletariata Bengalii i nekotoryye voprosy ego formirovaniya (Economic Conditions of Industrial Proletariat in Bengal and some problems of its Formation, 1953).



The Right Corner (showing the parallel bands)

of the 19th century there appeared in Russia a number of books and articles on the economic situation and commercial prospects in India. In these publications including notes by Russian travellers mainly the problems of trade between Russia and India were considered. It was in this connection that the historical source materials on the trade relations between Russia and India from Afanasi Nikitin's travel down to the commercial activities of Indian merchants settled in Astrakhan were studied and published. The researches in Russo-Indian trade relations of the 15th-18th centuries done by A.F. Malinovsky and A. Pavlov in the '30's-'40's of the 19th century still retain their importance for a historian. While considering the possibilities of Russian trade with India Russian authors also paid their attention to the economic changes in India effected by colonial exploitation of the country. Thus known Russian publicists A.D. Saltykov and A.G. Rotchev who visited India in the 40's of the 19th century each in his own way presented an impressive picture of the ruin of handicraft industry and decay of old cities in India owing to her transformation into a market for British goods and colonial rule. They also described the revenue plunder to which Indian peasantry was subjected as well as the ruin and poverty of the mass of the population ruthlessly exploited in different ways by the foreign rulers.

In the second half of the 19th century the Socio-economic development as such in India began to draw attention of Russians authors. In connection with the Popular Rebellion of 1857-59 there appeared in Russia a number of works in which attempts were made to investigate the causes of the Rebellion including its socio-economic prerequisites. The most important among these works was that by the Russian revolutionary democrat N. A. Dobrolubov's *Vzglyad na istoriyu i sovremennoe Sostoyaniye Ost-Indii* (A Review of the History and Present State of East India). In a clearcut and convincing way N.A. Dobrolubov described the disastrous consequences of colonial plunder and analysed the nature of the Rebellion of 1857-59 as a just war. He also noticed the perspective of the development of new socio-economic relations in India.

In connection with the struggle and discussion on the agrarian problems and, as the future of Russian village community which

were going on in the late 19th century Russia, Russian scholars paid great attention to the study of agrarian relations in various countries including India. In India as well as in Russia the disintegration of feudal relations and of the village community in particular was going on while strong feudal survivals still remained. The partial similarity between Russian and Indian villagers of the period existing despite considerable differences in general conditions evoked the interest of Russian scholars in the Indian village. The study of the agrarian structure, village community and British land-revenue policy in modern India was allotted an important place in the works of the outstanding historian of agrarian relations, M.M. Kovalevsky—*Obshchinnoe zemlevedenie, prichiny khod i posledstviya yego razlozheniya* (Village community, causes, course and consequences of its disintegration (1879), *Rodovoy byt v nastoyashechom nedavnem i otdalennom Proshlom* (Tribal Government at Present and in the Recent and Remote Past. 1905), *Pervobytnoe pravo* (Primitive Law, 1886), *Ocherk proiskhozheniya semyi i sobstvennosti* (An Essay on the Origin of Family and Property). As is well-known, Marx, while studying India, used some of the works by M.M. Kovalevsky. An attention to the economic and particularly agrarian relations in modern India, was also paid by the well-known Russian Indologist, philologist and Buddhist scholar—I.P. Minaev. This was reflected in his following works: *Ocherki Tseyлона i Indii* (Essays on Ceylon and India, 1878, *Rodovoy Byt v Sovremennoy Indii* (Tribal Government in modern India 1883), *Lemlevladienie v sovremennoy Indii* (Land holding in Modern India, 1883), and also in his *Dnevniky*—Diaries of the travels to India and Burma in 1880 and 1885-86, recently published in the USSR. It is worth-while noting that I.P. Minaev as a scholar with exceptionally wide interests brought from India along with old manuscripts also a good lot of material on contemporary economic and political life in that country which facilitates our present day studies. By the end of the 19th century there appeared a number of Russian works on the agricultural crisis and famine in India, among them important are the following works: *Indiya O neurozhayakh v Indii* (India, On Scarcity in India) by E. Zemansky (1883), *Selskokhozyaystvennyi Krizis i Indiskiy golod* (Agricultural Crisis and Indian Famine) by T.Z. Brokhovich (1898) and *Irrigatsionnye Sistemy Indii* (Irrigation Systems in India) by Ostrovsky (1914). Alongwith the scholarly studies, works of an informa-

tive type on Indian agriculture, plantations, industry, transport, trade and finance were also being published especially by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Thus between 1894 and 1914, 40 informative publications (mostly articles) on Indian trade alone appeared in Russia.

The interest in Indian economic life which was displayed by contemporaries in pre-revolutionary Russia considerably facilitated the later studies on economic history of India by Soviet scholars. M.M. Kovalevsky, I.P. Minaev and other contemporary Russian scholars left to us their valuable observations. In our libraries there was accumulated source material which enables one to do original research on India's economic history of the modern period namely land revenue settlement reports, voluminous district gazetteers, district manuals, monographs on various districts, annual reports on provincial administration, records of presidency governments, reports by various parliamentary commissions on Indian affairs and commissions appointed by the Indian Government, periodicals as well as various other sources, material and literature.

Regular study on modern Indian history by Soviet Indologists and its teaching in Soviet higher educational institutions began in the late '20s. This study was stimulated on one hand by the scholarly interest in the peculiarities of the historical process under colonial conditions as India was a "classical colony" and by the deep sympathy for the Indian people waging their freedom struggle on the other.

The most important contribution to the study of Indian history in the modern period as well as to its teaching in the Soviet Union was made by the late Prof. I.M. Reisner, (1899-1958). From the beginning of the '30s, Prof. I.M. Reisner taught history of modern and contemporary India and Afghanistan in the Historical Faculty of the Moscow State University. He wrote a number of works on the entire modern period in India as well as particular historical problems. He also trained a group of research students and thus laid the foundation for the Soviet school on Indian history now in the process of development.

In his last years Prof. I.M. Reisner concentrated on the period of the 17-18th centuries and especially was interested in the problem of the level of India's socio-economic development reached

by the beginning of modern times. Among the last works by Prof. I.M. Reisner are the following studies: *Narodnye dvizheniya v Indii XVII-XVIII vekov i, raspad derzhavy Velikogo Mogola* (Popular Movements in India in the 17-18th Centuries and Fall of the Mughal Empire. Manuscript now in press), *Nekotorye dannye O razlozhenii selskoy obshchiny u Marathov v XVII-XIX vekakh* (Data on the Disintegration of the Village Community in Maharashtra in the 17-19th centuries, 1953), *Vosstaniya jatov v oblasti Agra-Deli v Kantse XVII—nachale XVIII vekov* (Jat Risings in Agra—Delhi area in the Late 17th—Early 18th century, 1957), chapters on Indian History in collective works *Novaya istoriya Stran Zarubezhnog Vostoka* (Modern History of Foreign Oriental Countries, 1952) and *Vsemirnaya istoriya* (World History; a voluminous publication partly out of press). Problems of Socio-Economic Structure in India in the late middle ages and early modern period have also been studied by doctor of historical science, K.A. Antonova¹ as a candidate of historical science,² and candidates of historical science N.I. Semynova,³ Z.L. Alayev⁴ and others.

The main conclusions of these works may be summed up as follows. On the eve of the British colonial conquest, India as a whole was at the stage of developed feudalism. Though India still remained a feudal country there was no stagnation and important changes in

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1. *Otsunki obshchestvennykh Otnosheniya i Politicheskogo stroya mogolskoy Indii vremeni Akbara* (Essays on the Social Relations and Political structure of Mughal India in the days of Akbar; 1952);

Angliyskoy zovovaniya Indii. (British conquest of India : 1958);

Agrarnyye Otnosheniya v Indii na kraneyu Angliyskogo zovovaniya. (Agrarian Relations in India on the Eve of the British conquest in India : 1949).

2. Candidate of Sciences is an academic pre-doctorate degree in the U.S.S.R. awarded for a dissertation (thesis) which must be an original and published research. This degree may be considered more or less equal to the Ph.D.
3. *Selskaya obshchina i feodalnoe zemleposlednie v Gosudarstve Ranjit Singh.* (Village community and Feudal land-holding in the State of Ranjit Singh 1935); *Gosudarstvo Sikhs* (The Sikh State, 1939).
4. *Selskaya obshchina v Tuzhnoy Indii v XVII-XVIII vekakh.* (Village community in Southern India in the 17th-18th Centuries—man. prepared for the press) :

Razvitiye Indiytskogo tkarestva do pravitelstvovaniya v Indiiy Evropeytses (The development of Weaving in India on the Eve of European Penetration, 1957).

By "manufacture", Soviet Scholars following Marx mean a certain historical form of economic organisation of production, in which there was already a division of labour between labourers hired by a master, but machinery man proved that the development of such manufacture reflects the rise of capitalist relations within the frame work of Feudal Society—vide Marx, *The Capital*, Vol. I.

her socio-economic structure were taking place e.g. further development of private feudal landholding and weakening of feudal state property in land, partial undermining of the self-sufficiency of the village community and weakening of occupaney rights of the majority of peasants at least in a number of regions, the further development of commodity production and merchant capital as well as the subjugation of craftsmen by the latter. According to the observations of I.M. Reisner and some of his pupils germs of the manufacture were appearing in Indian handicraft industry even before the British conquest. According to Dr. Antonova, the appearance of the germs of manufacture before the British conquest has not yet been proved since the definite accounts at our disposal of such a form of economic organization relate to the early days of British rule. She also doubts the existence of any widespread subjugation of craftsmen by merchant moneylenders before the European penetration. It is quite obvious that the problems of socio-economic development in India by the beginning of the modern time still need much more detailed study.

The general and specific features of the disintegration of feudalism and development of capitalism under colonial conditions as well as the formation of Socio-economic prerequisites of national liberation movement constitute the main problems of study of the economic history of India in the modern period by Soviet Indologists. In this connection considerable importance is also attributed to the studies on the development of colonial exploitation of India in the course of the development of capitalism in England.

The problems of India's economy from the late 18th century till the middle of the 19th century are dealt with in the collection of articles entitled *Narodnoye vosstaniye v Indii 1857-1859 godov* (Popular Rebellion in India in 1857-59) as well as in some other works by Soviet scholars, candidate of historical science A.M. Osipov¹, Dr. Antonova², (cand.) Semyonova³ and others. These

1. *Krestyanstvo Severo-zapadnykh provincii na krome revoliutsii 1857-1859*. (Peasantry of the North-Western provinces on the eve of the Revolution of 1857-59 : 1957).
2. *K. Vaprun O vvedenii sistemy Ryotsuari v Indii*. (On the introduction of Ryotsuari Settlement : 1959).
3. *Zemelno-nalogovaya politika Angliyskikh kolonialnykh vlastey v Pendjabe v 50-60 kh godakh XIX veka*. (Land Revenue Policy of the British colonial authorities in the Punjab in the 50's-60's of 19th century).

problems are also paid attention to in the general works on India's economic history which will be spoken of below. These works may be summed up in the following way. In colonial India of the first half of the 19th century of feudal relations were still predominant. The British conquest and the colonial exploitation, the main method of which in the late 18th and early 19th century was the revenue plunder, lead not only to great destruction of productive forces but also to a drastic increase of essentially feudal exploitation of Indian toiling people effected by the British colonial state in India immediately or through subjugated local feudals. Later, and especially in the 2nd half of the 19th century in the course of country's transformation into a market for British goods and source of raw material and her consequent involvement in the capitalistic world trade the disintegration of feudal relations and formation of certain internal prerequisites for the rise of capitalism under colonial conditions started.

Economic development in, and colonial exploitation of, India in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century have been analysed in a number of works by Soviet Indologists—candidate of historical science, V.I. Pavlov¹, candidate of economic science, A.I. Levkovsky², Doctor of economic science, N.D. Grodkov, candidate

1. *Formirovaniye Indiytskoy burjuazii*. (The Formation of Indian Bourgeoisie : 1958);
Ocherk deyatelnosti torgovtsev i restorshchikov v kolonialnoy Indii. (An essay on the Activities of Merchants and Moneylenders in Colonial India : 1954);
Kratkiy Ocherk formirovaniya Krupnykh promyshlennyykh Kapitalistov v kolonialnoy Indii. (A short Essay on the Formation of Big Industrial Capitalists in Colonial India : 1954);
Ekonomicheskiye izmeneniya v gorodakh Maharashtry vo 2-oy polovine XIX veka. (Economic changes in the cities in Maharashtra in the Second Half of the 19th century : 1958);
2. *Nekotoryye osobennosti razvitiya Kapitalizma v Indii do 1947*. (Some Specific Features of the Development of Capitalism in India Before 1947 : 1956);
Sistema Upravlyeniya ushebikh agentov oradiya parabshecheniya i eksploatatsii Indii angliyskim imperiaлизмом. (Managing Agency System—A Tool of Enslavement and Exploitation of India by the British Imperialism : 1954);
Osobennosti razvitiya Krupnogo Kapitalisticheskogo predprinimatelstva v Indii. (Specific Features of the Development of the Big Capitalistic enterprise in India : 1954);
Vozniknoveniye i Kharakter deyatelnosti angliyskikh i Indiytskikh bankov v Kolonialnoy Indii. (The Rise and Nature of English and Indian Banks in Colonial India : 1956);
Doizheniye Svadeshi. (The Swadeshi Movement : 1958).

of historical science G.G. Kotovsky, Candidate of economic science, T.K. Shirokov, candidate of economic science V. Kuzmin, research-worker L.A. Gordon and others¹.

In the above—mentioned studies the authors analyse forms of economic subjugation and methods of exploitation of India by the British capital coming to its monopolistic stage and show the specific features of the process of formation and economic conditions of Indian working class and bourgeoisie, their national and other composition, relationship to other sections of population, as well as the socio-economic background of political attitudes at different periods within the modern time. Attention is also being paid to the analysis of further disintegration of feudal system and preservation of feudal survival in the village, the main problems under consideration being evolution of landlord and tenant relations including growth of three-cropping and the part played by the tenancy legislation, commodity production, position and role of the money-lender, as well as nature of so called agriculturists' relief and land alienation acts, growth of property differentiation among the peasantry, economic position of each peasant and rise of agriculture labourers, survivals of village community etc. The socio-economic development is being analysed in the context of national freedom and class struggle constituting a great force of progress. The works under review lead to the conclusion that the beginning of the development of capitalism—the rise of capitalist system in the economy of colonial India—dates from the second half of the 19th century. Owing to colonial subjection the capitalist relations developed slowly in a deformed and especially excruciating way. The colonial rule constituted the main deterrent for the development of the country rested on and supported various survivals of the old. In the course of the disintegration of feudalism and growth of capitalism the objective necessity of independent development was strengthening; new social classes, able to lead conscious and organized mass struggle against foreign domination were rising and at the same time new contradictions appeared.

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1. Besides those mentioned above, numerous other Soviet Scholars and researchers, numerous others also have contributed valuable papers and dissertations on Indian currency and Credit, Agrarian Problems, Tea-Garden, Economic conditions of working classes and other allied topics.

The results of the study of India's modern economic and political history by Soviet scholars will be reflected in a comprehensive work entitled *Istoriya Indii v novoe vremya* (History of India in the modern time). This work is being prepared collectively by the research workers in the Indian department of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is expected to appear in 1960.

The Soviet Indologists are watching with great interest the studies carried on by their Indian colleagues particularly in the field of economic history. One may notice with satisfaction the appearance of a number of new works on India's economic history including special studies on particular areas of the country. Such type of research now appears very necessary for the deeper study of the history of the great Indian people.

KAUTILYA ON PAY RULES

By

Dr. S. L. Pande, M.A., Ph.D.

Necessity of Pay Rules: Kautilya, popularly known as Chanakya, is, perhaps, the greatest political thinker and states-man of the Mauryan period. He was the Prime Minister and Rajaguru (राजगुरु) of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the first historical King of India. He was the chief man who inspired, encouraged and assisted Chandra Gupta Maurya to uproot the Nanda dynasty and seize the throne of Magadha for him (Chandra Gupta Maurya) and, thus, establish a vast Empire. The Arthashastra, the reputed book on Political Economy, is the product of his fertile brain and a testimony to his wonderful genius. He wrote this book for his disciple, Chandra Gupta Maurya, whom he loved dearly and tried to train him for an ideal ruler. Placing before his disciple, Chandra Gupta Maurya, a plan regarding an ideal system of administration to be worked out in the State under him Kautilya in his Arthashastra has laid emphasis on the organization and maintenance of public service, too. Dealing with this topic he has given an account regarding the fixation of pay as well. The principles underlying the theory as regards the fixation of pay to the public servants advocated by Kautilya are of great significance. These principles, permitting a few changes here-and-there, may easily be adopted even today in this sphere of administration.

It is a well-known fact that no government can run by a handful of men or women. To run a government successfully and efficiently a number of men and women, sufficiently large, varying in taste and talent and gifted with qualities of mind and heart, soul and body will be required. Every state, therefore, has to employ such persons according to her need. These employees and their dependents solely depend on the government, that employs them, for their sustenance. Their government has to provide them with as much amount of money as may be sufficient to meet their legitimate necessities of life. In order to follow a uniform policy for making payments to the employees in return of the services they render, rules are framed and followed strictly. Thus, in order to avoid misunderstanding and complications in future payments to

the employees are made according to these rules. Kautilya also realised and recognized the importance and necessity of framing rules for the fixation of pay based on certain fundamental principles. They are still to be found in his Arthasastra, though not in detail.

Pay: The word for pay commonly used in the Sanskrit literature is Vetana (वेतन). Kautilya also uses the same term for pay.¹ Manu and Sukra also use the word Vetana for pay.² Sukra is very explicit on this point. He defines the term pay in his reputed work, the Sukraniti. According to this, definition what is given for the sustenance of an employee and his dependents is known as his pay.³

Pay Fixation principles: The first principle that guided the fixation of pay, according to Kautilya, is the proper consideration of the nature and the amount of the work done by the employee.⁴ Manu, too, recognizes the principle. He lays down the principle that pay (वेतन) be fixed after giving due consideration of the nature and the amount of work done by the employee.⁵ Sukra, too, supports Kautilya on this issue. He suggests that the pay to the employee be fixed according to 'the worth of the work done by him. Keeping this very principle in his mind he even goes further and classifies them into three grades—the slow, the average, and the quick. "The slow, the average, and the quick." Says Sukra, "are the three classes of the employees. Their pay, too, be fixed accordingly".⁶

Thus the first principle regarding the fixation of pay laid down by Kautilya and supported by other political thinkers of Ancient India is to give proper and due consideration of the nature and the

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| 1. भक्त वेतन समेरन् ॥ | 29. 3.5. Arthasastra. |
| भक्तवेतन विशेषं कुर्यात् ॥ | 36. 3. 5. Arthasastra. |
| 2. वनोदयोऽथ कुप्टस्य वरकृष्टस्य वेतनम् ॥ | 26 7. Manava Dharmasastra |
| संदर्त वेतनं तत्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ | 333.2 Sukraniti. |
| 3. भूति रूपेण संदर्त वेतनम् विशेषं च कुर्यात् ॥ | 333. 2 Sukraniti. |
| 4. विद्या कर्मणा भक्तवेतनं विशेषं च कुर्यात् ॥ | 36. 3. 5. Arthasastra. |
| 5. कल्पयेत् भूतिं स्व कर्मावृत्तता ॥ | 125. 7. Manava Dharmasastra. |
| 6. मन्त्रोमध्यस्तदासीदास्त्रविधोभूत्य उच्यते । | |
| समोमच्या च षोष्ठा च भूतिस्तेषां कर्मात्समुताः ॥ | 396. 2. Sukraniti. |

amount of the work done by the employee. A quick and good worker naturally be more paid than what the slow or the average worker gets. Here the pay was to be fixed according to the worth of the work done by the employee.

The second principle as regards the fixation of pay laid down by Kautilya is the recognition of learning or technical qualifications of a worker. Here is an attempt to assess the worth of a man's learning for the work done by him. Kautilya, thus, adds learning or special qualifications to the assessment of the work discussed above. "Pay and allowances to an employee" says Kautilya, "be determined and fixed after giving due consideration to his learning or technical qualifications and the nature and the amount of the work done by him. Such an employee deserves special pay and allowance"¹. These views of Kautilya have been supported by Sukra. "Employees" says Sukra, "be always paid according to their merits"².

The next principle, regarding payments to the employees, laid down by Kautilya is that of sufficiency in sustenance of the employee and his dependents. According to this principle pay of an employee be so much that he may be free from the anxieties of sustenance for himself and his dependents³. Paying less than what the employee really deserves turns him into an enemy to his employer. Such an employee is a constant enemy to his master and creates a great nuisance in the daily Working of the office where he is engaged to work. He takes little interest in the work entrusted to him. He is found indifferent and shirks his duty. He tries to create an atmosphere of dissatisfaction among his co-workers, nay, even among the people he comes in contact with. This injures the interest of the employer and results in upsetting the whole thing.

Sukra also supports Kautilya on this issue. "A King" says Sukra, "makes his own employees his enemies by paying them less than what they deserve⁴. Such employees assist the enemy of their

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1. विद्याकर्मभ्यां भवतवेतनविशेषं च कुर्यात् । 36. 3. 3. Arthashastra.
 2. यथायथा च गुणवानभूतकस्तद् भूतिस्तथा ॥ 391. 2. Sukraniti.
 3. एतावताभरणे जानास्वाद्यत्वंकोपकं चेवा भवति ॥ 5. 3. 5. Arthashastra.
 4. ये भूत्याहीनभूतिकाः शत्रवस्ते स्वयं कृताः ॥ 392. 2. Sukraniti.

employer by disclosing the secrets of their own master and try to make money by unfair means; which causes unnecessary harassment to the innocent people and a great loss to the income of the State".¹

Kautilya, thus, prescribes that pay to an employee be fixed after giving due consideration of what he really deserves and whether it is sufficient for the sustenance of the employee and his dependents.

The next principle, in this sphere, laid down by Kautilya is that no work should go unpaid, the extra work done by an employee be paid accordingly. Kautilya would like to pay an employee who is called to work on some public holiday. According to him, as a general rule, work should not be taken from an employee on public holidays. If some emergency arises the employee may be called to work even on some public holiday. But in such cases extra payment be made to the employee for the extra work done by him on the holiday².

The next and, perhaps, the most important principle for the fixation of pay according to Kautilya is based on the capability of the State income. He would never like to over-load the people of the capital (पौर) and those of the country (जनपद) by imposing heavy taxes merely to make payments to the employees in a State. He, therefore, prescribes that only one fourth of the State income be spent on the public servants. The number of employees in a State should in no case be more than what is really needed. Their number and their pay should be so adjusted that the capital and the country may be able to bear the burden easily and comfortably³. This suggestion of Kautilya is at once wise and practical. He is inclined to evolve a system, as regards the employment of public servants and their payment, which is not much expensive rather it is based on the principle of self-sufficiency. According to Kautilya too much expenditure on the employees of the State would ruin its ruler and ruled both alike.

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1. परस्व सामकास्ते तु छिद्रकोशं प्रजाहृताः ॥ 393. 2. Sukraniti.
 2. त्रिविधं प्रतिपादनं मानंदधं कर्मकारयितव्याः ॥ 6. 23. 3. Arthashastra.
 3. गुणजनपदशक्त्या भूत्यकर्म समुपपादेन ह्यापयन् ॥ 4. 3. 5. Arthashastra.

Rules for the payment of allowances :—Besides the regular pay, payment of allowances to a certain class of employees has also been recognised by Kautilya. The Sanskrit term for allowances used by him is Bhakta (भक्त)¹. To what class of employees allowances be paid is not clear from the account given by Kautilya in his Arthashastra. Therefore, nothing can be definitely said on this important issue. As regards the rate of the allowance he has laid down a general rule. According to this the rate of allowance should vary. It would rise along with the rise of the pay. It means a low paid man would receive less allowance while a highly paid employee shall receive higher rate of allowance.²

Kautilya gives an specific example regarding the rate of allowance. According to this an employee whose pay is sixty Panas (पण) be paid an allowance of one Adhaka (अधक) of grain³.

Modes of payments :—From the account given in the Arthashastra it is evident that Kautilya is favourably inclined to pay the employees of the State in cash rather than in kind. However, in some cases he recommends the payments in the shape of land grants. But in such cases he does not give them right to sell or mortgage the land so granted to them.⁴ Thus, as a general rule, payments were to be made in cash and not in kind.

As regards the payment of allowances to the employees of the State it is clear that Kautilya is in favour of paying them in kind. Wherever he speaks of these allowances he prescribes that they should be paid in kind.

The other important fact regarding the mode of payment is the due regard for the punctuality in the disbursement of the amount of pay. Kautilya strongly recommends that all payments due in favour of the employ be made in time. He proposes, punishment to the officer-in-charge who makes delay in payment⁵.

1. भक्त वेतन
2. हिरण्यानुरूपं भक्तं कुर्यात् ॥
3. यद्धि वेतनस्याधकं कृत्वा ॥
4. विप्रवभाषानवर्जनम् ॥
5. वेतन कालातिपातने मध्यमः ॥

36. 3. 5; 37. 3. 5. Arthashastra.

37. 3. 5. Arthashastra.

37. 3. 5. Arthashastra.

9. 1. 2. Arthashastra.

16. 23. 2. Arthashastra.

Non-socialistic grades of pay :—The gap between the pay of the lowest paid employee of the State and that of the highest paid one, proposed by Kautilya, is very large. According to him the difference is eighty times the pay of the lowest paid employee. The pay of the lowest paid employee of the State prescribed by Kautilya is sixty Panas,¹ while that of the highest paid one is forty eight thousand Panas². A socialistic State of our times would strongly condemn such a system of payment to the State employees. Kautilya, therefore, would be regarded conservative in this sphere of administration.

Deductions in pay :—While Kautilya has every regard of the payment for the amount of work done by an employee, he is equally strict on the other side also. He is intolerant towards the non-workers and the shirkers. He does not hesitate in suggesting punishments to such workers. He has laid down that the lazy, the non-workers, the shirkers, the careless and such other workers should not be by-passed. Deductions from their pay be made and punishments both monetary and physical, as the case may be, be imposed upon them. "An employee's pay", lays down Kautilya, "be forfeited if the thread spun by him in the Sutra-sala (सूत्रशाला) is of rough and bad quality"³. He proposes a punishment equal to four times the cost of the thread in loss caused by the carelessness of the employee.⁴ Kautilya prescribes corporal punishment to the worker who draws pay in advance but does not turn up to work.⁵

Pension and gratuity :—Kautilya does not give definite rules as regards pension and gratuity to the employees. It is, therefore, wise to be silent on this point.

Thus Kautilya has given a valuable account in his Arthashastra as regards pay fixation rules. They have their great utility even today. This is really an important contribution to the modern world made by Kautilya.

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| 1. वण्टिवेतनाः ॥ | 19. 3. 5. Arthashastra. |
| 2. अष्टचरवारिंशत्साहस्राः ॥ | 4. 3. 5. Arthashastra. |
| 3. सूत्रहूतः वेतनहूतः द्रव्यासारात् ॥ | 7. 23. 2. Arthashastra. |
| 4. कार्यस्यान्यपाकरणे वेतननाशस्तद् द्विगुणश्च दण्डः ॥ | 3. 14. 2. Arthashastra. |
| 5. गृहीत्वाः वेतनं कर्माकुर्वन्त्याः भंगुष्टे संवत् दापयेत् ॥ | 18. 23. 2. Arthashastra. |

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Part II

CITY-ARCHITECTURE AS DEPICTED IN THE
APARAJITAPRICHCHIHĀ OF BHUVANADEVĀ

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From various records, we gather authentic and valuable informations about cities and city-life in ancient India. They bear testimony to the fact that from Takshasilā in the north to Madurā in the south and from Ujjayini in the west to Tāmralipti in the east, there were found to exist numerous important cities, the notices of which have frequently been made in the contemporary evidences. In the early Indian literature, we come across ample references, which mention cities as distinct from the villages. As early as the fifth century B.C., Pāṇini speaks of "Grāma" and "Nagara" separately¹; which may be used as an evidence to prove that the two were different types of habitations. While drawing distinction between them, the earlier works on Indian architecture define city as a populous centre, noted for strong fortification and inhabited mostly by traders (जनः परिवृतं ऋषिकयकारिभिः) and industrial workers (कर्मकारैः समन्वितम्)². According to them, it consisted of four impressive city-gates in the four directions (विष्णु चतुर्द्वारयुक्तम्) and splendid buildings furnished with the adequate amenities of life (सालादयम्)³. The village, on the other hand,

1. "अथवा ग्रामनगराणाम्" Aśṭādhyāyī, 7, 3, 14.

2. Mānasāra, Chapter 9.

3. Mayamata, Chapter 10.

was marked for its simple appearance and in most of the cases, it lacked the protection rendered by moats and walls, the provision of which was absolutely necessary in the planning of the cities.

The city-bred man has been spoken of by Vātsyāyana as the true representative of an advanced culture in his celebrated work (*Kāmasūtra*) which is an important source for the study of urban civilization of India in the early times. According to him, he is excellent in fine conversation and always dignified in his behaviour. He says that city is pre-eminently a noted centre of the noble persons, whose lofty mind could assert a claim to an excellence of a high degree¹. He condemns the manners of the village-folk and expresses his great hatred for the rural lady by calling her as a great simpleton². In *Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa, we read the expression "Nāgarika-Vṛitti", which signifies the cleverness of a person living in the city. The hero of the play asks his friend to appease his angry beloved by the dexterous art, which is chiefly found amongst those, who are well-acquainted with the polished way of urban life³. Yuan Chwang says that the citizens of Kānyakubja could speak with great cleverness and discuss problems with great subtlety^{4a}.

The city was considered to be a bond of affection and source of excessive gratification. That is why it was extremely disliked by those who were living in the forest for the sake of spiritual attainments. Baudhāyana expresses his hatred for city-life by saying that the person whose mind is defiled and the senses are rendered impure due to the dust of the town, is incapable of achieving release from the corporal existence^{4b}. In *Śākuntalam*, we find an anchorite highly lost and confused, when he found himself in the tumultuary atmosphere of the city of Hastināpura. In the drama, he is reported to have said in great surprise :—"It is true that the King Dushyanta, who had never transgressed social limits was supremely gifted and that not even the meanest of any

1. "नगरे सज्जनाभ्येस्त्वानम्" *Kāmasūtra*, page 42, Sūtra 2.

2. *Ibid*, page 254, Sūtra 32.

3. "सत्ते । गच्छ, नागरिक वृत्त्या सास्त्रवेदानम्" *Śākuntalam*, Act V.

4a. Watters, I, 341.

4b. "पुररेण कुडित्तजरीरसत्परिपुर्ण नेत्रवदनश्च । नगरे वसन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यतीति न तव रित्ति"

Baudhāyana Dharmaśūtra, 2, 3, 53.

of the classes follow an evil course; yet with mind ever accustomed to solitude, I deem this place, teeming with men, like a house enveloped in flames"¹. In this work, another recluse also makes a similar statement. He says, "I too deem the pleasure-seeking people of this city, as the bathed deem the anointed, the pure deem the impure, the awake deem the sleep and one with free motion deems the fettered"². In *Swapnavāsavadattam*, which is an earlier work, we are informed of hermits, who had left the clamorous atmosphere of the city and resorted to a lonely place; where alone a serious contemplation or meditative discourse could have been possible³.

The most notable feature of the cities in ancient India was the architectural technique, which determined their planning in a most systematic manner. In *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*⁴ of *Dīgha-Nikāya*, city-architecture is technically known as "*Nagara-Māpāna*". It also occurs in *Mahā-ummaga Jātaka*⁵, *Mahābhārata*⁶ and *Milindapañho*⁷. In *Rāmāyaṇa*⁸ and Hathigumpha inscription of King Khāravela it has been mentioned as "*Nagara-Nivēṭana*". In *Yuga-Purāṇa* of *Gārgi Samhitā*, it is known as "*Nagara-Sthāpāna*";

1. "महाभागः कामं नरपतिरभिन्नस्थितिरसी
न कश्चिद वर्णानामप्यमपहृष्टोऽपि भजते ।
तथापीदं वापदपरिचितं विविक्तेन मनसा
जनाकीर्णं माये हृतवहूपरीतं गृहमिव"
Śakuntalam, Act V,
2. "अम्यक्तमिव स्नातः शुद्धिरशुचिमिव प्रबुद्ध इव मुक्तम् ।
बद्धमिव स्वरगतजनमिव मुक्तसंगितमवेमि ।"
3. "नगरपरिभ्रष्टान् विमोक्षयिष्ये वनमभिगम्य मनस्विनो बभूवुः" *Ibid, Act V, 1 .*
Swapnavāsavadattam, Act I.
4. "सुनोष-वस्सकारा मयमहामत्ता पाटलिप्राये नगरं मापेन्ति"
Dīgha-Nikāya, 2, 16, 1, 26.
5. "नगरं देवेहेन सुमापितम्" *Jātaka, 6, 448.*
6. "नगरं मापयामासुः" *Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Chapter 199.*
7. "नगरं मापेनुकामो" *Milindapañho, page 32.*
8. "निवेद्य पञ्चभिर्ध्वंभरतो राघवानुजः"
Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-Kāṇḍa, Canto 101, line 31.
9. "वातविहित-गोपुर-वाकार-निवेतनं पटिसंसारपति", *Sircar, page 207.*
10. "स्वायम्यनगरं रम्यं पुण्यारामजनाकुलम्" *Yuga-Purāṇa, page 31*

whereas Mayamata, which is a comprehensive treatise on architecture and which is copiously quoted as an authority by subsequent writers, acknowledges it as "*Nagara-Vinyāsa*"¹.

The word "*Nagara-Niveśana*"² also occurs in *Aparājita-prichchhā*, which is an exhaustive composition on the theory and practice of the science of architecture. Scholars are inclined to believe that it was composed in the 12th century A.D. and deserves to be ranked with *Mānasāra* or any architectural treatise of a high order. This work throws light on various aspects of city-planning, e.g. the method of fortification, construction of the roads and selection of the site for the erection of the palace and other important buildings.

Aparājita-prichchhā informs us that cities in ancient India were laid out in accordance with a scheme under the supervision of an able architect known as *Sūtradhāra*. He was required to be thoroughly acquainted with the science of architecture (वास्तुविद्या विद्वेषकः)³. This is also clear from the expressions like "*Vāstuvidyāvibodhakaḥ*", "*Vāstuvidyādikaūśalaḥ*", "*Vāstumarmādibodhakaḥ*" and "*Vāstuśāstrādibodhanam*"; which have been used to describe his technical qualifications⁴. He was also required to be expert in the examination of site (भूपरीक्षा); fixation of the nails for measuring the ground (कोलिकारोपणादिकम्) and the character of the ground on the basis of its colour, smell, taste and slanting direction (वर्णगन्धरसस्वादलवादि भूमिलक्षणम्)⁵. He was also well-versed in the measurement of plot with the help of the tape (रेखाला विविधाकाराः) and the construction of huge buildings of various types (प्रासादा विविधाकाराः)⁶. He was to have a familiar knowledge of ascertainment of the extent of the ground by comparison with a standard (मग्नोदप्रमाणं च ज्ञायते सूत्रकर्मणा) and skilful in the art of joinery (संघि... कुशलम्)⁷. He was

1. "नगरादीनां विन्यसितम्" *Mayamata*, page 38.

2. *Aparājita-prichchhā*, page 189.

3. *Ibid*, page 118.

4. *Ibid*, page 118.

5. *Ibid*, page 6.

6. *Ibid*, page 118.

7. *Ibid*, page 119.

an specialist in the construction of the moat, rampart, gates, roads, buildings and palaces¹. He was also expected to be wise (बहुविज्ञः), erudite (शास्त्रज्ञः), and fully conversant with draftsmanship (चित्रादि कुशलः)².

The Sūtradhāra of Aparājita-prichchhā is to be compared with Sthapati of Mayamata, Śilparatna, Vāstuvidyā and Mānushyālaya-chandrikā. According to Mayamata, Sthapati should be eminently skilled in designing the buildings (वास्तुविद्याविशारदः), competent in the layout of the cities (स्थापनार्हः स्यात्), skilled in drawing sketches (चित्रतः) and thoroughly acquainted with surface-reading (सर्वदेशतः)³. He is also to be compared with Vāstuvidyāchārya (Vatthuvijjāchāriya) of the Jātaka⁴. In his work, the Sūtradhāra was helped by other architects (कर्मकारापरैः)⁵. All these architects were to be richly honoured for the merit of their work by the founder of the city⁶. The employment of the chief architect and his assistants have been referred to in the earlier works also. In Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, their group is mentioned as "Śilpi-Saṅgha". It was proficient in the work of remodelling and the enlargement of the cities⁷.

(The most important problem which confronted the Sūtradhāra was the selection of the site, where the city was to be laid out. The examination of site by Sūtradhāra is known as "Bhoo-parīkṣā" (भूपरीक्षा) in Aparājita-prichchhā⁸. This word occurs in Mānasāra⁹

1. "पुरप्राकारपरिवाराप्रतोलीमागं गोपुरम्
गृहं च राजवेश्मणं ज्ञायते सूत्रकर्मणा ॥" Ibid, page 118.

Also Compare :—

"पुरप्राकारपरिवाराप्रतोलीमागं गोपुरम् ।

वेश्मानि राजवेश्मानि ज्ञानं ज्ञानी राजाश्च योः" Ibid, page 6.

2. Ibid, page 6.
3. Mayamata, chapter 4.
4. Jātaka, 1, 297.
5. Aparājita-prichchhā, page 119.
6. "सर्वेषां कर्मकराणां धनं दद्याच्च सर्वतः ।" Ibid, page 371.
7. "तां शिल्पिसंघाः प्रभुणा नियक्तास्तथागतं संभूताश्चनन्त्यत् ।
पुरीं नवीचक्रुरां विसर्गात् मेघाः निराधमपितामिषोर्वाग्" Raghuvamśa, 16, 38.
8. Aparājita-prichchhā, page 120.
9. Mānasāra, chapter 4.

and Mayamata¹, which also recommend the basis of the choice of the ground. In Aparājitaṭṭichchhā, the confluence of two rivers has been regarded as the most suitable site for the construction of a town (नदीनां संगमेषु)². In case such a site was not available, the city was to be laid out either in some alluring place or near a forest or a hill³. Its situation near a hill or a forest was desirable, because a natural source of defence of the city was available in this case. It should be mentioned at this place that according to Mahābhārata⁴ and the testimony of the Chinese traveller, Fahien⁵, the ancient city of Girivraja was protected by five hills, namely Vārāha, Vairāha, Vṛṣhabha, Rishigiri and Chaityagiri. According to Rāmāyaṇa, the city of Ayodhyā was defended by a forest of Sāla trees.⁶

For the selection of the site, Aparājitaṭṭichchhā makes another recommendation, which is extremely orthodox in nature. It says that the ground should be chosen in view of its colour, smell, taste and obliquity by the different castes⁷. If the ground is white in colour, it is suitable for a Brāhmaṇa. Similarly, red, yellow and black surfaces of the earth are becoming for Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras respectively⁸. The sites, which emitted a smell of blood, salt and refuse, were to be preferred by Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras respectively⁹. The soil, which had the sweet flavour

1. Mayamata, chapter 3.

2. Aparājitaṭṭichchhā, page 113.

3. "सुप्रदेशो जग्मे रम्ये गह्वरे गिरिमाभिते ।" Ibid, page 113.

4. "वैराहो विपुलो वीलो वाराहो वृषभस्तथा ।

ऋषिगिरिस्तात शुभाश्वत्थक पंचमाः ।"

एते पंचाः महाभूगाः पर्वताः शीतलज्जमाः ।

रक्षन्तीवाभिसंहृत्य संहृतीनाः गिरिवजम् ॥"

Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, Ch. 21, 2—3.

5. Gilcs, Fahien, page 49.

6. "उच्छानाम्रवर्णोपेतो महतीं सालमेजलाम्"

Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Canto V, line 24.

7. "परीक्षयेच्च भूमाद्यं वर्णमप्येव स्वचित्तः" Aparājitaṭṭichchhā, page 120.

8. "इवेता च ब्राह्मणी भूमौ रक्ता च क्षत्रिया स्मृता ।

वीतवर्णा भवेद्वैश्या शूरी च कृष्णवर्णिनी ॥" Ibid, page 123.

9. "घृतगन्धा भवेद्विषी रक्षी रक्षानुगन्धिनी ।

क्षारगन्धा भवेद्वैश्या शूरी विष्टानुगन्धिनी ॥" Ibid, page 123.

of honey, was fit for a Brāhmaṇa. The earth, which relished savour, was to be picked out by the Kshatriyas. The saltish and unwholesome soil was fit for the Vaiśyas and Sūdras respectively¹. When the ground was selected on this basis, it was to be besmeared by cowdung for freedom from the mixture of the possible defilements and the ritual uncleanness². It should be mentioned at this place that such orthodox recommendations are also available in Mayamata (chapter 3) and Vāstuvidyā (chapter 2). So far as the obliqueness of the ground is concerned, the author of Aparājitaṭṭichchhā is in favour of the eastern slope. According to him, it is excellent in all respects, conducive to health and possessed of the great merit of longevity³. The choice of the surface, sloping to the east is significant from the scientific point of view. This would enable the availability of the morning rays of the sun; which creates sound bodily conditions.

(The selection of the site was followed by a ceremony for its purification. In Aparājitaṭṭichchhā, it is known as "Bali-Vidhāna"⁴. This nomenclature also occurs in Mānāsara⁵ and Mayamata,⁶ where an eloquent description of this ceremony has been given by their authors.) This ceremony was done by the Sūtradhāra himself with the help of a learned Āchārya (आचार्य बालमैत्रेय) on an auspicious occasion⁷. The labourers were employed in order to fill the holes in the earth⁸ and make the ground smooth by razing the mounds⁹. The Sūtradhāra, who was clothed in white garments and had carried on his neck a garland of the same colour¹⁰, offered worship to important gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and

1. "बाह्वनी मधुरास्वादा कषाया क्षत्रिया तथा।
कारस्वादा भवेद्वैश्या शूद्री स्वात्कटुका तथा ॥" Ibid, page 123.
2. "गोमयेन समालिप्य" Ibid, page 123.
3. "नीरोणा दानशीला च विशिष्टजन सेविता।
पूर्वस्वभा तु या भूमिः शोभना सा प्रकीर्तिताः ॥" Ibid, page 123.
"पूर्वस्वभा वरा भेष्टा हृषायुः शीबलवर्द्धनी" Ibid, page 122.
4. Ibid, page 113.
5. Mānāsara, Chapter 8.
6. Mayamata, Chapter 8.
7. "शुभे दिने शुभे ऋक्षे शुभाने शुभहर्तके" Aparājitaṭṭichchhā, page 113.
8. Aparājitaṭṭichchhā, page 120.
9. Ibid, page 120.
10. "शुक्लाम्बर धरो नित्यं शुक्लभास्वानुलेपनः" Ibid, page 123.

Rudra and goddesses like Yoginī, Kumārī and others. He took great care of the fact that adoration was paid to all the divine beings, presiding deities of the fields (क्षेत्रपाल) and guardians of the boundaries (दिग्पाल) properly¹. This worship was followed by a gift of land, cow, horse, buffalo, gold, cloth and some other valuables². It was considered that due to this ceremony, the ground was bestowed with a merit, which would always remove all the hinderances and bring complete happiness to all the persons dwelling there permanently³.

The purification of the ground was followed by the actual work of planning. The Sūtradhāra brought nails usually built of metal and fixed them on all sides in accordance with the scheme of the construction of the proposed town⁴. The nails were joined together by means of threads and with the guidance of these threads the whole site was marked out. This is known as "*Nagara-chinkāni*" (नगर-चिह्नानि) in Aparājita-prichchhā⁵. The various portions of the surface, where the work of the construction of the moat, rampart, roads, palace and other buildings was to be taken, were thus clearly indicated by the *Silpīs*.¹

The work of the fortification of the town was undertaken at the first instance. Aparājita-prichchhā proposes the construction of three moats in case the town was much bigger in size⁶. The portion of the soil where the moat was to be constructed has been known as "*Pārikheyi-Bhūmi*" (पारिकेयी भूमि) in Ashādhyāyī of Pāṇini⁷. This appears to be a mere repetition of the recommendation of three moats, made by Arthasāstra⁸ and Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra⁹. The three moats of Aparājita-prichchhā seems to suggest the three types of moat known in ancient India, namely, (1) the moat full of water (2) the moat full of mud and (3) the moat

1. Ibid, 113-14.

2. "भूमिदानं ततो दद्यात् गोमहिषवच्च संयुतम्"

Ibid, page 114.

3. "निर्विघ्नं च भवेत्तत्र हेतुकारिः समचनं"

Ibid, page 114.

4. "भानीय कीलकं सूत्रं रोपयेच्च अतुदिशम्"

Ibid, page 123.

5. Ibid, page 124.

6. Ibid, page 178.

7. Pāṇini—kullīna—Bhāṣatavarsha; page 142.

8. Arthasāstra, page 51 (Śāstri).

9. "एवं संशोध्य परिरक्ष्यतितयं परितोऽग्निः" Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra, I, p. 40.

which had nothing within. The moat which was filled with water is mentioned as "*Toyapūrṇa-Parikhā*"¹ in *Arthasāstra* and "*Udaka-Parikhā*"² in the *Jātakas*. The second and third types of the moat have been known in the Buddhist literature as "*Kaddama-Parikhā*"³ and "*Sukkhā-Parikhā*"⁴ respectively.

(The earth which was laid bare by digging the moat, was amassed by its side at some distance and thus a huge mound was built. This mound has been known as "*Vapra*" in the *Aparājita-prichehḥā*⁵. The city-wall known as "*Prākāra*" was constructed on this mound. *Aparājita-prichehḥā* says that the city-wall should be elevated to a height of nine hastas (18 feet) for increasing its defensive value⁶. The city-wall was set with towers which have been known as "*Aṭṭalaka*"⁷ and "*Mahāṭṭiṅga*"⁸ in this work. It was also to be possessed of main (Gopura) and subsidiary gates (Pratoli). These entrances were closed and opened by thick planks (कपाटाः सर्वदारेषु)⁹. On the top of the city-wall, were to be accumulated destructive weapons (*Mahāyantra*), such as the *Bhairavayantra*, *Bhāskarayantra*, *Mahishāsuraayantra* and *Vārāhayentra*¹⁰. The author of this work says that due to these weapons, the city-wall becomes impregnable¹¹. *Arthasāstra*¹² and *Mahābhārata*¹³ enumerate several weapons which were to be piled up on the upper surface of the city-wall.

1. *Arthasāstra*, page 51 (Śāstrī).

2. *Pāṇini-Kaṭīka—Bhāratavarsha*, page 144.

3. *Ibid*, page 144.

4. *Ibid*, page 144.

5a. *Aparājita-prichehḥā*, page 191.

5b. "प्राकार उत्तमः कार्यो नवहस्तैः समुच्छिन्नः" *Ibid*, page 173.

6. *Ibid*, page 173.

7. *Ibid*, page 173.

8. *Ibid*, page 173.

9. *Ibid*, page 180.

10. "प्रविष्टान्त्रैः सप्तायुक्तं प्राकारं भीमकपकम्" *Ibid*, page 181.

11. "तासु पाषाणकुट्टासु कुट्टादीकाण्डकल्पनाः । समुच्छिन्नाङ्गरा रण्य कपत्रं क्षतघ्नयः ॥"
कार्या कार्मारिकाश्चूलावेचनाप्राप्य वेणकः । उच्छ्वीक्याग्निमसंयोगः कुप्यकृत्ये च योऽवधिः ॥"
Arthasāstra (Jolly), I, p. 33.

12. "विचिथेरपि निविडैः शस्त्रोपेतैः सुसंवरतैः । शरितभिर्यत्नतः विडि द्विजिह्वंरिच सप्रवेः ॥
तत्पञ्चाम्यसिक्तं युक्तं शुशुभे योऽवधितम् । तीक्ष्णा कुशसतपनीभिर्यन्त्र जालैश्च शोभितम् ॥
आयातंश्च महत्कं शुशुभे तत्पुरोत्तमम् ॥"

Mahābhārata, *Adiparva*, Ch. 227, V 63—641-2

The different industrialists like goldsmiths, perfume-dealers and ivory-workers were to be placed in the different localities¹. This seems to bear a relation to the localization of industries, which is emphasized in all the works, where the subject of site-distribution is also undertaken. Aparājitaṭṭīchehḥā favours the inhabitation of the members of all the four castes because it is conducive to the happiness of the citizens in general². Like Arthaśāstra³ and Śukranīti-Sāra⁴, it also advises the construction of the royal palace in the centre. It places the sellers of the betel, fruits, flowers and garlands either in the vicinity of the palace or in the populous localities for the benefit of their sale⁵. The temples of the gods were to be built near the squares of the city (देवस्थानानि चवरे)⁶.

From the above it is clear that Aparājitaṭṭīchehḥā of Bhuvana-deva is helpful to a large extent, in understanding the various aspects of city-architecture as practised in ancient India. It bears testimony to the fact that the cities which thrived in this land, were not a result of an accidental or irregular growth, but erected in accordance with a well-considered scheme. This work, undoubtedly, reflects the engineering skill and the architectural technique of the ancient builders and also agrees on several points with Yuktikalpataru and Samarāṅgana-sūtra-dhāra which supply to us numerous informations about the planning of the cities in ancient India.

1. Ibid, page 179.

2. "चतुर्वर्गस्य प्रकृतिरेकिकेषु पुरेषु च ।

सर्वत्र वासयेच्च नगरस्य सुखावहान्"

Ibid, page 179.

3. Arthaśāstra, page 55 (Śāstri).

4. Śukranītiśāra, Ch. 1, p. 434.

5. "ताम्बूलफलसंकीर्णं पुष्पयासादि संकुलम् ।"

राजद्वाराप्रतदर्थं यतः स्वायच्च नदीकुलम् ॥"

Aparājitaṭṭīchehḥā, page 179.

6. Ibid, page 178.

NON-RUSTING OF THE MEHRAULI IRON PILLAR

By

V. G. Pandey

The craftsmanship in iron work of the Mehrauli iron pillar of king 'Chandra' is simply superb. It is a single piece of iron, which does not show any sign of decay by rusting or getting corroded for centuries and has retained the inscription very clearly. The identification of king 'Chandra' of this inscription with Chandra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty, has been generally accepted to be the best and as such, it has been favoured by majority of the scholars¹. Therefore an explanation of the non-rusting character of this iron pillar must be sought, from the sources of the Gupta period only.

The various explanations so far suggested for the non-rusting and non-decaying characters of the iron of this pillar are as under:—

1. the pillar might have been painted or white-washed with the lime, to protect it from rusting;
2. probably in the Gupta period, the metallurgy was advanced to such an extent that it was possible, then, to make a pillar of pure iron;
3. probably the pillar was prepared with stainless steel.

We agree with Dr. Urmila Agarwal when she remarks that, these various explanations have been altogether misleading and to some extent unbelievable². About the last probable explanation, Dr. Urmila Agarwal very aptly remarks that 'from all the modern methods known so far the manufacture of stainless steel, we know that, it should be an alloy of iron with Chromium, Nickel, Vanadium, Molybdenum etc. Rare metals like Vanadium and Molybdenum, have only very recently been discovered and no traces of them are available in the ancient relics. Hence, it shall be too

1 Hoernle : *'Ind. Ant.'*, XXI, pp. 43—44.

Smith : *E.H.I.* (2nd Ed.), p. 275.

Sharma : *I.H.Q.*, XXI, pp. 202 ff.

Altekar *'A New History of the Indian People'*, VI, pp. 3, 23.

Car, R. C. : *I.H.Q.*, XXVI, (1950), p. 192 and others.

2. Urmila Agarwal : "Non-rusting of the Mehrauli iron pillar at Delhi", *J.U.P.H.S.*, V (NS), Pt. I, p. 37.

rash to think of all that¹. Thus after discarding the views of other scholars, she puts forward her own explanation, which runs thus : "The only appealing and tangible explanation seems to be, that, for giving the pillar a proper shape, the masons of ancient times must have poured water on the red-hot iron, would at once be converted into-steam, which would further affect the rest of the red-hot iron in forming on it an adherent layer of ferroso-ferric oxide according to Barff process. It is a well-known fact that this process is even adopted for protecting iron from rusting and for treating cans for fruits etc. instead of tinning, because—ferroso-ferric resists the action of even acids and chlorine. Ferroso-ferric being a black substance, the adherent layer thus formed would be black throughout. It is for this reason that the Melirauli iron pillar is black in appearance, and not a white shining one, which would have been the case, had it been of pure iron"².

Though her explanation is intelligent and ingenuous, we are reluctant to state that she has not attested any authority in support of her claim.

On this non-rusting character of this iron, we come across a section in Varāba Mihira's *Bṛihatsamhitā* wherein it is possible to find the only tangible, correct and scientific explanation. It has been accepted that this author lived and flourished during the Gupta period³. And hence his authority will be an appropriate source relevant to our enquiry.

Varāba Mihira has mentioned the following six kinds of '*Lepas*' in his *Bṛihatsamhitā*. He advises to apply these *Lepas* on iron etc. to preserve the objects from decay and rust :—

First Lepas :— The paste of the horns of a male sheep or a ram should be kneaded well with the viscid ooze or the sap of Gigantic Swallowwort. In this mixture, the secretion of a blue pigeon or *Columba* and rat should be added. After kneading well,

1. *Ibid.* p. 37.

2. *Ibid.* p. 38.

3. Kaye : "Hindu Astronomy", *Memoirs of A.S.J.* No. 18 (1924); pp. 8—9.

4. *Bṛihatsamhitā* : *Ad. L.* v. 25.

आर्कपयोमृदु विषाणमयीसमेतं पारावतासुरा कृता च दूतप्रलेपः ।

शस्त्रस्य तैलमयितस्य ततोऽप्यपानं पश्चाच्छिस्तस्य न क्षिता सुभवे द्विधातः ॥२५॥

it should be applied to the object (here '*Tailmathita¹astra*'-'*Khadga*'). Then the object should be given a temper as required and then sharpened if required.

Second Lepa¹ :— The salt (*Kshāra*) of the plantain should be kneaded well with the curd. This preparation should be preserved for a few days and then it should be applied to iron. After applying this *Lepa*, the iron should be given temper as required. Varāha Mihira claims that such a piece of iron will neither break on the stone, nor on the ordinary iron, when hammered.

Third Lepa¹ :— Raw fruits of a *Diospyros glutinosa*, of the *Feronia elephantum* or of the *Crataeva valanga* or of the Wood-apple tree, flowers of *Ravari* (?), seed of the Porcupine, skin of the Screw tree (or *Helicteres ixora*, Orris-root or *Orris pseudacorus*, or sweet flag or *Acorus calamus*). All these ingredients should be kneaded well in one '*Droṇa*'² quantity of water. This whole mixture should be boiled to 1/8th of its quantity. The following ingredients should then be added to the mixture :—a whitish kind of benzoin or olibanum, viscid or sap of the '*Deodāru*' tree, viscid or sap of the *Shorea robusta*, linseed, aegle marmelos or *Crataeva religiosa*, aloes or gum-myrrh, bdellium or amyris—agallocha, *Semecarpus anacardium* and the viscid or sap of the '*Sri-Vāsaka*' tree (a kind of long grass, with a pink flower). This preparation should again be boiled in the same way—indicated above. This is called the '*Vajra Lepa*'.

1. *Ibid. Ad. I., v. 26;*

क्षारेकहृत्पामघितेन युक्तेद्विनोषितेपायितमायसंयत् ।
सम्यक्छितं चास्मन्निर्नेतिभंगं चाग्न्य सोद्वेष्यपितस्य कीऽठसं ॥२६॥

2. *Ibid. Ad. LVII, v. 1-3 :*

आमंतिपुरुक्षमाभं कषिराकं पुष्पमपि च क्षारमत्याः ।
बीजानिपल्लकीनां धग्वनचर कोषकावेति ॥१॥
एतैः सलिलद्रोणः स्वाद्यमित्तायोष्टभागशेषश्च ।
अवतार्योत्थश्च कल्कोद्रव्यैरेतैः समनुयोज्यः ॥२॥
श्रीवातकरस गुग्गुलुभल्लरतकुङ्कुमकस्तर्जरीः ।
अतस्तीक्ष्णैश्चयुतैः कल्कोयं च लेपाख्यः ॥३॥

3. 5 *Gūṇja* = 1 *Māsa*; 16 *Māsa* = 1 *Tala*; 4 *Tala* = 1 *Pala*;
4 *Pala* = 1 *Kudaca*; 4 *Kudaca* = 1 *Prastha*; 4 *Prastha* = 1 *Aṅgha*.
4 *Aṅgha* = 1 *Droṇa*; 4 *Droṇa* = 1 *Mound*.

Varāha Mihira informs us that this kind of '*Vajra-lepa*', when applied, lasts for about ten thousand years¹. This claim may appear to be an exaggeration, but when we look at the Mehrauli iron pillar at Delhi, which is standing there for the last one thousand years or more, we are compelled to believe the so-called tall claim of Varāha Mihira (Of course in this place he does not mention iron as one of the objects², still we can reasonably think that the application of this *lepa* on iron could have the same effects).

Fourth Lepa³ :—Ingredients :—Lac, viscid ooze or sap of the '*Devadāru*', *Bellium* or *Amyris agalloch*s, '*Gṛihadhūma*' (?),—fruits of the *Feronia elephantum* or of the *Crataeva valanga* or of the wood-apple tree, yolk of the fruit of *aegle marmelos* or *Crataeva religiosa*, '*Nāgabālāfala*' (?), fruit of the *Diospyros glutinosa*, thorn apple or *Rubia manjith*, viscid ooze or sap of the *Shorea robusta*, aloes or gum-myrrh and the crystallized sulphur..... These ingredients are to be boiled to the 1/8 th of its quantity. It should be applied hot. The effect of the fourth '*lepa*' is the same as that of the third.

Fifth Lepa⁴ :—Ingredients :—Horns of the cow, she-buffalo and a male-sheep or a ram, hair of donkey, skins of the cow and she-buffalo, fruits of the 'Neem' tree and *Feronia elephantum* or of the *Crataeva valanga* or of the wood-apple tree and aloes. These ingredients are to be boiled in the way mentioned in the third and fourth '*lepas*'. Varāha Mihira calls this '*lepa*' as '*Vajratara-lepa*' indicating thereby its superiority over all others.

1. *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* : *Ad.* LVII v. 4 :

प्रसादहृन्म्वलभीलिगप्रतिमापुङ्गवपूषेयु ।

संतप्तोदतस्यो वर्षसहस्रायुतत्वायी

॥४॥

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid* v. 5—6 :

सालाकुङ्कुमुगुलुगुहृषूकपित्तबिल्वमग्नानि ।

नागबलाफलशिंशुकमदनफलमपूकमजिष्ठाः

॥५॥

सर्जरसरसामलकानिवेतिककः कृतोद्दितीयोप ।

वग्याहयः प्रथमपुनरयमपित्तोष्णवैकार्येषु

॥६॥

4. *Ibid.* v. 7 :

शोमहिषाजविषमैः खररोम्णामहिषबभ्रं गण्डदम्ब ।

निबकपित्तवसैः सहवग्यतरोनामककोन्यः

॥७॥

Sixth Lepa¹ :— Ingredients :— Iron filings, bell metal (also queen's metal or any amalgamation of zinc and copper) and brass or peter puffed out like a sponge by exposure to heat, and the lead. They should be taken in the following proportion; 1 : 2 : 8, respectively, and mixed up. This 'lepa' is known by the name of '*Vajra-Saighāta*' and has been borrowed by Varāha Mihira from an architect called 'Maya'.

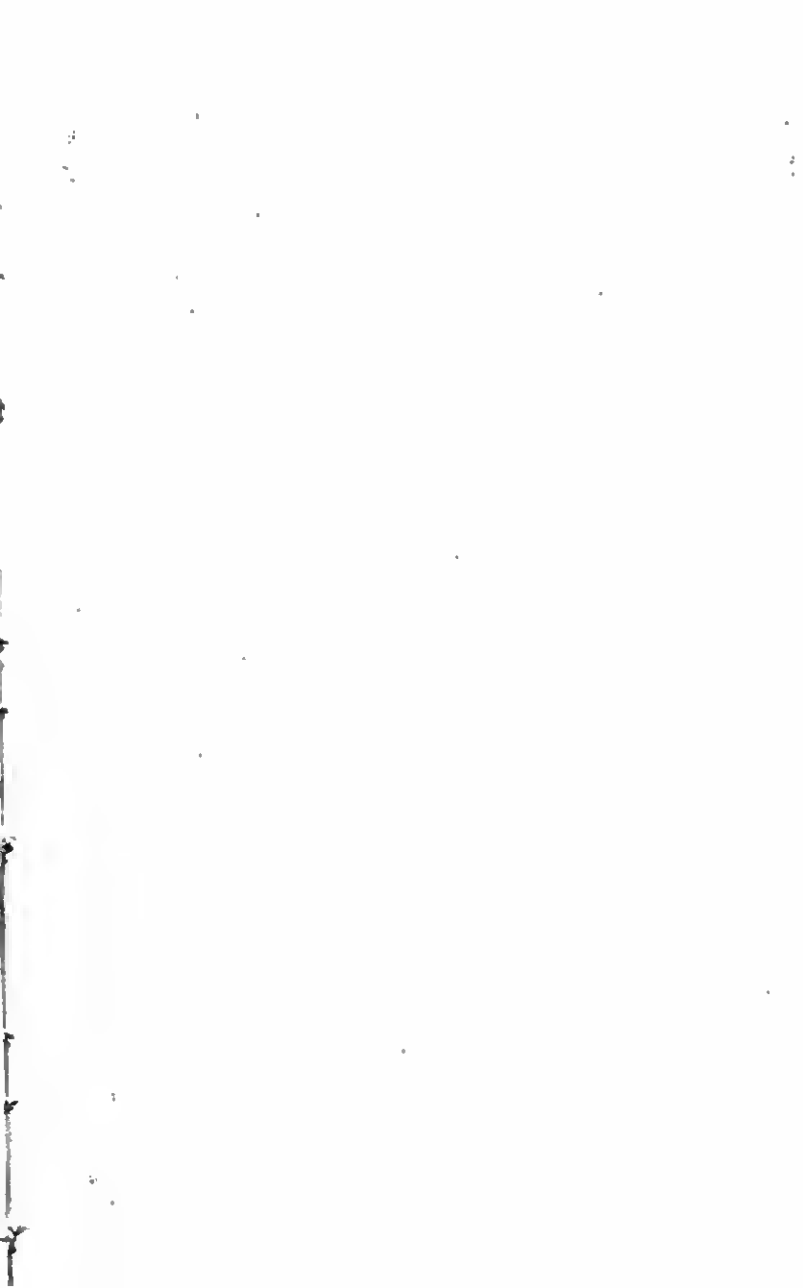
From the above preparation of the '*lepa*', and its effects mentioned by the author, we are convinced that, in the construction of the iron pillar at Delhi any one of the above '*lepa*' must have been used. Varāha Mibira has insisted throughout on the process of giving the tempers to the objects, and therefore it seems possible that this very process of giving tempers may have been worked out on this pillar which probably made the pillar black. This seems to us the only correct and scientific explanation based on the contemporary source.

1. *Bid.* v. 8 :

अष्टौ सीतकभागः कांस्यद्वीतुरीतिकभागः ।

मयकपितोयोयोयितोयोदय संघतः

॥८॥





Brick shown vertically



Cylindrical Figures

(The numerals are the same as in the Text)

ANTIQUITIES FROM DOMINGARH

Adris Banerji, Patna.

Domingarh is the site of an ancient fortress, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-west of Gorakhpur City. It was a large circular mound, 30' to 40' in height, from the level of the river water and was surrounded by low plains on all sides. It was located almost at the junction of the rivers Rapti and Rohini. A bend of Rohini protected the fortress on the north-west, west and south-west sides, while Rapti protected the south side. The north-east and south-east sides were guarded by two irrigation *nālās*, known as Ajwāniyā and Kakhrāhwā. It would be worth while to investigate whether these canals are natural, or were excavated to strengthen the defences of the city. The place was first noticed by A.C.L. Carlyle in 1878-79¹.

Topography

Generally the country is low, broad and sufficiently depressed to cause inundations. The environs of Gorakhpur have the appearance of a vast sheet of water in monsoon. What is more, both the Rapti and Rohini carry enormous quantities of silt, with the result that in their meanderings, these rivers leave behind huge *chars* and change their courses often. The whole country-side is dotted with large *tals*, like those around Sarnath, representing the discarded courses of these rivers. The fort was strategically located to guard a natural ford of Rohini. Rāpti possibly then flowed by another course, now represented by the Rāngarh tāl. It guarded the route from Nepal, as well as that of any invading army from the western districts of North Kōśāla, to its eastern districts and Mithilā. That the whole area was regarded as very important, is also proved by the existence of other fortified strongholds, like Rāmgarh, Baitālgarh, Bheriyāgarh etc., which are met with in this riverine region, within few miles of each other. Trial explorations at these sites are likely to furnish very valuable material for reconstructing the early history of Gorakhpur region about which our knowledge is very meagre. I was engaged in

1. Cunningham—A.S.R., Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

doing the second best thing to do, in absence of excavations; that is to make surface exploration to arrive at an approximate estimate of the possible contents, so that they might act as a yard-stick in evaluating the ceramic sequence of eastern U.P.

History

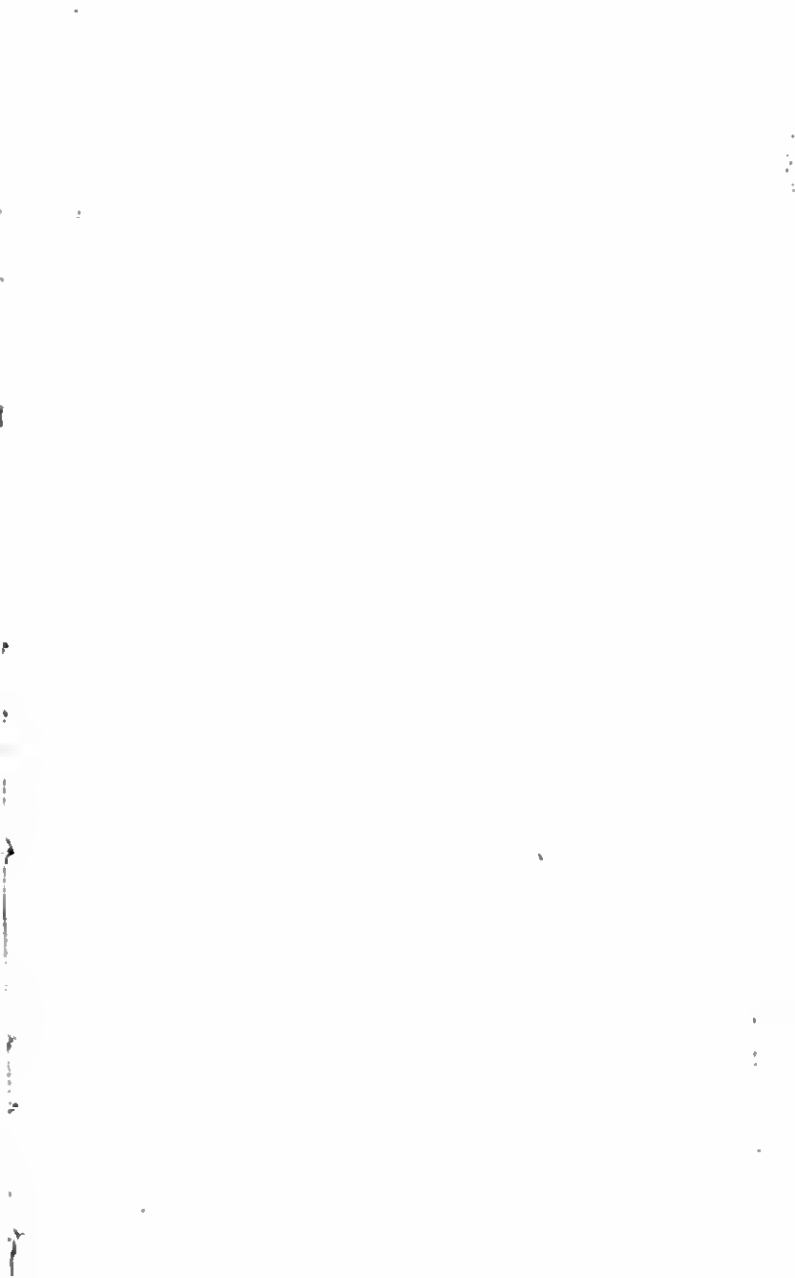
Early history of the area, inspite of monumental labours of my friend Dr. Rājabali Pandey, is imperfectly known. The tribute paid to the former glories of Kuśīnagar by Lord Buddha, as contained in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta*, has yet to be proved. Stray inscriptions like that of Bhagalpur in Deoria District, and Kahaon inscription of Skanda Gupta prove inclusion of the tract in the various empires of Northern India, while the Kasia inscription, Kahla, Sahet-Mahet and Dighwa Dubauli Copper plates testify to the extension of the Kalachuri and Gāhaḍavāla dominions. Except these processions of names, we have very little solid ground to stand upon.

Domingarh in particular has nothing to claim, as far as historical evidences are concerned. Folk-tales and legends are the only sources which have given us ideas about its origin. According to the local tradition, it was the capital of a powerful people called 'Domkāṭārs', the ruling race of the Doms (?), a people supposed to be *aborigine*, and who established themselves in Gorakhpur at the expense of a local Rāṭhor dynasty. This occupation has been assigned by Nevill to 12th to 16th Century A.D.¹ But the finds described below establish that the place has undoubtedly higher antiquity. The 'Domkāṭārs' were alleged to have been replaced by the ancestors of Rajas of Satāsī, who are supposed to be 'Śrinet Rajputs' from the Punjab. Chandrasena, the founder of the family, seems to have secured admission into Domingarh by treachery; and massacred the occupants like Farid Khan at Rohtas in the district of Shahabad, Bihar². Nevill was right in thinking that nothing further is heard of the Domkāṭārs. Possibly, the high-handedness of the immigrants did not permit them to survive³. Then came Mukund Singh, the Chāhamāna (?), who founded the

1. H. R. Nevill—*Gorakhpur Gazetteer*, Vol. XXXI, p. 176.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 115—16.

3. R. Pandeya — *Gorakhpur kā Itihāsa* (in Hindi), p. 234.



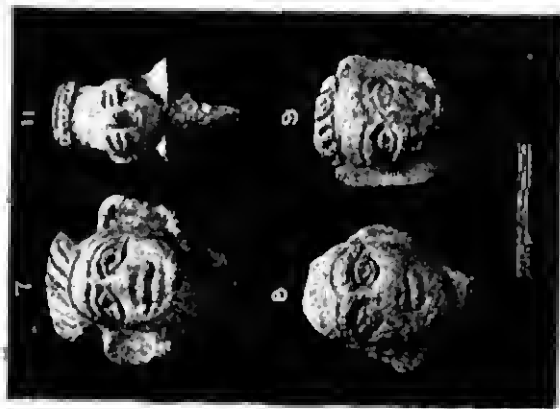
B



Clay Rubber

A. Bawer

A



Four Terracotta Heads

J. U. P. H. S.,

Vol. VII, Pt. II

house of Butwāl¹. The subsequent history of Gorakhpur as well as the neighbouring districts, is filled with the internecine warfare of these Mediaeval feudal lords, whom terrain gave absolute security against Muslim inroads till Akbar's time. It was in his reign that a military garrison was established at Gorakhpur.

Destruction

The accumulated occupational debris of Domingarh suffered devastation during the early days of British rule, like Brāmhanābād and Harappa in West Pakistan; and Mathurā, Lakhisarai and Uren in Bihar. The opening of the railway line by the former B.N.W. Rly. Co. (now N.E. Rly.), sealed its fate. The layers and layers of material culture at one of the most well preserved and strategic sites in north Kosala were utilised, first to make a raised embankment for the line to Uskā and Basti; and secondly as ballast, a function which it is still serving. The next factor was the erection of an embanked road to enable the people to use it during the monsoon. It is situated just behind the railway line. This devastation has generally taken place on the southern side of the railway line, while the northern side, having been in private possession, is better preserved. Here vertical digging is likely to yield a rich harvest in recovering the story of the site. This chronology then may be utilised as the nucleus for a comparative study of similar data from other sites in eastern U.P. The establishment of a well-authenticated cultural sequence for this area is a need which cannot be overemphasised.

The digging is still going on by villagers, who have established a small hamlet above the flood level and my collections were made from them as well as from some pits recently made by them. The spoliation of the site has however yielded one good result,—the disappearance of all evidences of later days upto C. 5th century of the Christian era.

Clay figurines

1. The hollow torso of a female figure (Ht. 16.08 mm.) with nipples of the breast indicated by slight depressions. A solid cylindrical base with a mortice hole inside the spread-out base. Red wash.

1. *Ibid.* p. 244.

2. The solid torso of a female figure (Ht. 13.05 mm.) with cylindrical base and the remains of a torque at the neck. Light orange wash. Left breast damaged.

3. Torso of a female figure (Ht. 6 mm.) with a necklace and torque, pointed small breasts with the traces of an *ornī* running between them. The base was hollow and cylindrical. Light red wash; probably traces of a child (?) on her left waist.

4. Torso of a female figure (Ht. 15 mm.) only a portion of the *lehāgā* or *sārī* comes over her right breast. A child on her left waist.

5. Torso upto waist of a female figure (Ht. 8 mm.) wearing torque on the neck. A suckling child on her left waist. Right arm has *chūris*. It rests on hip. Light red wash.

6. Solid cylinder with remnants of a scarf.

Heads with round pupils

7. Female head (Ht. 11.05 mm.) with big pupils indicated by grooves made with a circular blunt tool on soft clay. The eyes are goatlike and arched eyebrows almost meet at the centre of the forehead. Slit mouth. Hair arranged in a top-knot indicated by tangential rows of ridges. Long elongated ears. Tenon badly fired below the neck to fit on the torso.

8. Female head (Ht. 6.05 mm.) only a fillet below the hair line has survived.

9. A female head (Ht. 10.05 mm.) with goatlike eyes and grooves for eye-balls. Arched eyebrows meet at the centre of the forehead. Elongated hair and long pointed chin. Torque on the headline. Light red wash.

10. Large badly damaged head (13 mm.) with goatlike eyes and pierced circular hole for eye balls. Arched eyebrows meeting above the ridge of the nose. Hair arranged in a top-knot shown by parallel rows of ridges.

Mongoloid type

11. Female head of Mongoloid type (Ht. 11 mm.) with tenon below neck. Hairs made by pressure of fingers. The left ear has disappeared. Small suppressed lip. Eyes indicated by two parallel depressions with a small nose between. Hair arranged in





Figure (Enlarged)



Figure (Enlarged)

a top-knot bound by a fillet. There is a rectangular depression behind the head. Light red wash. It appears that the top-knot was added separately.

Miscellaneous

12. Fragment, representing the lower arm, palm and fingers of a female figure, (Ht. 8 mm.), wearing *Chūri*. Light red wash.

13. Left arm with palm and fingers (Ht. 8 mm.).

14. A leg without feet of a clay figurine (Length 10 mm.).

15. Clay rubber with parallel rows of striations and orange wash (5.2 mm.).

16. A sherd with a lug having a button-shaped depression without wash.

17. Do. With a lug having a pin-pointed depression with orange wash.

18. Clay brick with grey core.

It should be remembered that the antiquities collected were mostly surface-collections from a disturbed part of the site and are not objects on which hypotheses can be built with any certainty. Nevertheless, they supply interesting data about the condition of material culture in this remote corner of Uttara Kosala which large scale excavation in some other neighbouring site can only prove or disprove.

Technique

The technique is no doubt crude to a degree and consists of moulded figures of burnt clay. Ornaments were added with extra layers of clay and punched with a sharp blunted tool probably of wood when still soft. Then they were fired, which in all cases are very badly done. Both interiors and exteriors observed in damaged specimens, have grey cores and sometimes surfaces too. The material for firing probably was leaves. This method is even now followed in making of clay pots in Monghyr district of Bihar, where dried leaves are put inside and outside and then all the pots are fired after they have been covered by a clay envelope

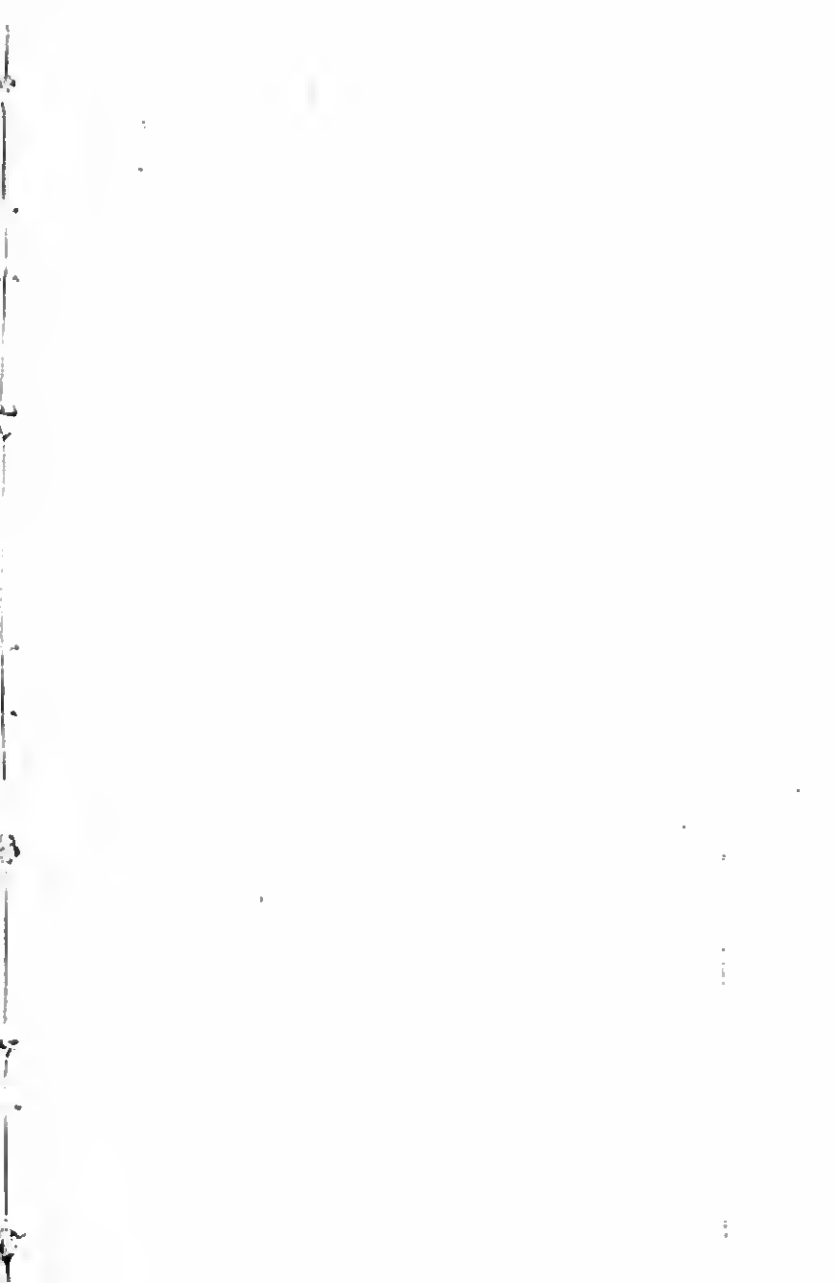
with holes to allow the gas and smoke to escape. Otherwise, the grey surface inside the cylindrical portion cannot be explained. Finally, they were dipped in wash.

The clay figurines etc., of Domingarh bear strong affinities with their counterparts at Ahichhatrā, in the Aonlā *tahsil*, of the Bareilly district. Their ethnic, aesthetic and cultural contents are identical, suggesting a fundamental unity underlying aesthetic perception of the people of all classes and strata in those bygone ages, notwithstanding the admitted fact that the cultural and racial context of the Gorakhpur region were totally different from Uttara Pāñchāla. Parenthetically, it might be remembered that the collected specimens are also not the examples of the classic art of the country, but are objects of folk-art, nonetheless, they surprise us by common idioms of plastic expression, aesthetic conception and conservative tradition. Clay is a material which came in service of man very early in his history. The art of the clay figurines is one of the most archaic forms of aesthetic expression. It has by its very nature, graphic power of depiction. One does not meet with the formal perfection of classic plastic activity, but novel and original verbs and syntax of communication. Baked clay, therefore, has been utilised to endow the national plastic activity with richness of expression, with its incised contour lines and sharpest linear integrity.

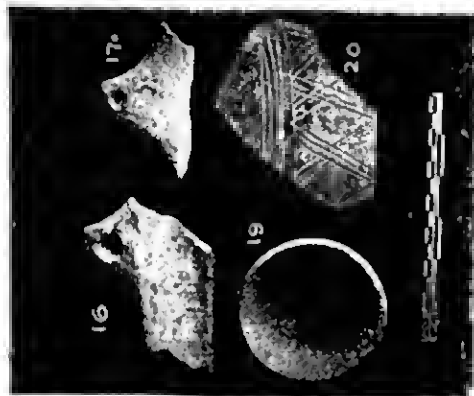
The figures with hollow cylindrical bases are similar to those found in AC III, Strata III a-b, ascribed to C. 550-750 A.D.; being sub-type (vi) of Type 21, Group VIII; Foreign types of Ahichhatrā¹. They have also been met with in other ancient sites in Allahabad, Azamgarh and Vārāṇasī districts. But, how far the occurrence of such cylindrical figures, whatever the material, on Hephthalite coins justify their description as foreign types, is open to question. As far as Domingarh is concerned it does not share the advantages of North Pāñchāla's capital city. Diffusion of Hunic influence in this remote corner is a moot point. To my mind some of them seem to be parts of a large *ensemble* which were fixed on clay or wooden pegs.

The same is the case with the heads. The eye-balls made by circular grooves with the aid of a blunt tool have been found

1. *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 155.



A



Logged and Incised Sherds

J. U. P. H. S.,
Vol. VII, Pl. II.

B



Torso of Female Deities with Child on Lap

A. B. B. B.

at Domingarh as well as Ahichhatrā; being Type 22, Stratum IIIc—IIIa, belonging to a period 450-750 A.D., Sub-type (ii) and (iii) of that place. Only one head being No. 11 of our list has a slit eye. While the mongoloid type might have been very familiar to the image and doll-makers of Domingarh, which was in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, how far they were acquainted with Huns and Persians are points on which a mass of evidences require to be garnered. Nevertheless, the hypotheses should not be discarded hastily; but excavations undertaken at other sites to prove or disprove them. Lastly, it should be remembered that the possibility of influence through specimens brought from Ahichhatrā cannot be ruled out.

The very few potteries collected, confirm the above conclusion. The specimens described by me were collected by Shri N. C. Burman Roy and Sri N. N. Bose. These are examples of a buff ware containing two distinct types; shallow bowls with lugs which have button-like depressions. The second is a round bottomed decorated jar. The decoration consists of incised cross hatchings. Such cooking vessels with lug ears were also recovered from the last two stages of stratum III at Ahichhatrā. This stratum has been referred to a period of C. 450-750 A.D.

Therefore, the clay figurines and sherds from Domingarh make it perfectly clear that, this city, the predecessor of modern Gorakhpur, was a flourishing place from the middle of the 5th Century A.D., to that of the 8th Century A.D. Its material culture was on the same level as that of the famous metropolises of Northern India. It was not merely a fort of Domkāṭars from 12th Century A.D., as the local tradition believes¹.

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FRONTIERS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY OF VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

By

Sri. B. V. Srinivasa Rao, M.A.

(I)

Epigraphy means a clear cut-door to an authentic area of historical thought ; and whenever historians feel doubt of some historical facts, which are clouded in mystery, they would be helped by inscriptions which come under an Archaeological technical name, 'Epigraphy'. Epigraphic evidences in general remain eternal, on successful grounds, undaunted by failures, undismayed by critics. The unpublished grants, if published, or re-editing the inscriptions, mark always the wide open door of opportunity to the house of eternal foundation of history. For publishing the unpublished grant or re-editing the inscription 'Brahmajñānam' is essential or 'Pūrva Janma Saṅskāra' is essential. Sanskrit knowledge is also essential. Scholars must be backed up by the active influences of the benefic stars of their horoscopes such as Moon, Mercury, Venus and Jupiter. The duty of the archaeologists is to find out an inscription, edit it and publish, as it is in the Archaeological reports. In other words, the Archaeologists are divine grammarians to record the original inscription. The duty of a research student is to verify or amplify or commentate over the grammar of the inscription published in the archaeological reports. So Archaeologists are the divine grammarians of epigraphy, research students or research scholars are the divine commentators or amplifiers of Epigraphy. Archaeologists mean inborn intelligence to record the original inscription, whereas the research student should require the inborn memory to amplify it. Real Epigraphy teaches us that an ounce of facts is worth a ton of guesses. The duty of Epigraphists is two-fold :

(a) to make inscriptions possible to read;

(b) to make inscriptions profitable for historians.

A real epigraphist is the embodiment of a shining example of honesty and purity in his profession and he must be possessed of indivisible magnetism of a divine Grammarian, by which he would dominate every historian around him. To sum up—the

research student means the embodiment of the initiation and the flowering of the epigraphical evidences to record detailed history. The real epigraphist means the embodiment of the beginning or ripening to record inscriptions in his report.

Regarding the value of our Kannada inscriptions of Vijayanagar Empire published in the Mysore Archaeological Department (Epigraphia Carnatica Volumes), readers are advised by me to go through my following points :—

(1) Professor Kielhorn, states that the name of (Śālivāhana) as that of a personage, famous in South India, was prefixed in the ordinary course to Śaka Varsha or the Śaka Year simply in imitation of the name of Vikramāditya in the Vikrama dates. With this conclusion, we agree (Vide page 810, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1916).

(2) As per J.F. Fleet, the date of 1354 A.D. in a record of King Bukkaraya the I, of the Saṅgam Dynasty, is the earliest known instance of the use of the name 'Śālivāhana' in a date, and it may be noted that the given year is Vijaya Śālivāhana Śaka 1276 (current)—1353-54 A.D. and the given 'tithi' is Māgha—Śukla 15, falling in February 1354 A.D. (Vide-p. 814, the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1910).

(3) Among 93 records of the Vijayanagar Dynasty included by Professor Kielhorn, in Southern list of inscriptions, No. 454 to 546, ranging from 1340 A. D. to 1693 A. D., are dated in Śālivāhana Śaka Years—(vide page 815, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1916).

To sum up, for the first time in the history of the India the name of Śālivāhana Śaka was made use of in the Kanarese inscriptions of South India. Here, J.F. Fleet comes to the conclusion that the origin of the Śālivāhana Era must be only in South India. Anyhow the chief contribution of our Kannada Epigraphy is only by means of introducing a name of Śālivāhana Śaka in inscriptions, which are the greatest assets in Indian History.

Regarding the chief contribution of Tamil Nad epigraphy of Vijayanagar period, so far as my experience is concerned, almost all Tamil inscriptions of Vijayanagar Period in total depict and exhibit the native intelligence or the timely intelligence of Tamilians.

In other words, the Tamil Epigraphy places Tamilians on the bedrock of native intelligence and as worshippers of Lord Krishna in the whole world.

(II)

Let us go through the Administration Report of the Archaeological Department of Travancore (1122 M.E. (1946-47 A.D.). Here the Director of Archaeology of Travancore State, while examining the coins of Saṅgam rulers of Vijayanagar Empire, collected by Rao Bahadur Srinivasa Gopalachari of Madras, records one coin of Virūpāksha. Who is this Virūpāksha? This is my research, and my research answer for this is as follows :—

Just to identify the Ruler of any coin, the following qualities of the Ruler are to be seen into :—

- (a) Independent status
- (b) Extreme mutual intimacy
- (c) Renowned confidence
- (d) Very good affection

For example, during the period of British Rule in India only the Nizam of Hyderabad who had extreme mutual intimacy with the British Government was given an independent status to mint coins after his name. So, *Independent status* is the essential qualification for any person to mint coins after his name.

Among Saṅgam rulers of Vijayanagar Empire, Devaraya II (1419 A. D. to 1446 A. D.), because of his mutual intimacy and renowned confidence towards his Commander-in-Chief, Lakkanna Daṇḍeśa gave independent status to the same Lakkanna Daṇḍeśa to mint coins after his name. This is a rare example in Saṅgam period. So far as my research experience at the Mysore Archaeological Department is concerned, I have not found any other ordinary person, other than Lakkanna Daṇḍeśa who was given an independent status to mint his coins.

Now the question of identification of Virūpāksha comes. Only the rulers had independent status for minting their coins. As this is true to my knowledge, this king Virūpāksha recorded in Travancore Archaeological Administration Report 194-47.

(p. 8-9) must be the King Virūpāksha III, the successor of the king Mallikārjuna of the Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire, because in Vijayanagar Period excepting rulers no one had independent status to mint coins after their names. So this research paper is of great numismatic value to the scholars interested in historical research.

Regarding the Malayalam Epigraphy of Vijayanagar period almost all inscriptions refer to innumerable titles of their Kings. My conclusion is that the Malayalam epigraphy records the Malayalese inborn faith and fear towards their Kings.

The Telugu Epigraphy records the courageous private grants and donations. So the Telugu Epigraphy of Vijayanagar Period records greatest faith in temple and Brahmins for the majority of them pertain to the Reddis of Andhra (the grass-root culturists of India).

The history of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism is shrouded in clouds in our printed books on Vijayanagaram. To be frank with you, according to my microscopic research knowledge at the Mysore Archaeological department, I come to conclusion that the Śrī Vaiṣṇavism had a great role in Vijayanagar Empire. As there was a growing popularity of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism in Saṅgam Period, Bukka I of Saṅgam clan, in order to give recognition to Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, extended a renowned Rāmānujāchārya Edict (Śāsana) dated 15th August, 1368 A.D. Perhaps this Edict must be in honour of the "world's greatest, silent, intelligent and independent philosopher of the world," Bhagavān Rāmānujāchārya. If the history of Vijayanagar is re-written, I am sure, the inscriptional evidences like the above would come into prominence and as a result scholars can come to an understanding regarding Śrī Vaiṣṇavism which is now silently existing amidst other religions. Anyhow epigraphy is always the nearest evidence for any religion or politics for final conclusion.

Scholars should be very careful in deciphering or examining the Colophons of Kannada Inscriptions of Vijayanagar Period. For example, the Royal Grants are started with the Colophon-Śrī Virūpāksha. The majority of the private grants are begun with the Colophon 'Namasthuṅga'. According to my researches, there is

only one inscription which deals, with 'Virasaiva' Epigraphy. In those days the Virasaivas used to inscribe their inscriptions with their religious Colophon (*Śrī Guruliṅgāyanamaḥ*). For examples, readers should go through E.C. Vol. IX No. 8, pp. 260-261.

To sum up, even in Vijayanagar times, the Liṅgāyats had maintained a separate method of recording their epigraphic evidences and this is one of the primary virtues of Kannada Epigraphy.

To conclude, we the research students rise by thoughts, stand or go; all destiny is wrought by the epigraphy's swift potency and the research scholar always stands master of thought and his desires command willing and weaving thoughts of unerring light.

(III)

The following evidences prove that Tumkur which is now in Karnataka State, is really fit for re-integration with Andhra State.

Epigraphic Evidence No. 1: The meaning of TUMKUR.

As per the inscription of the year 955 A.D. found on the wall of the Someśwara Temple of Tumkur, belonging to Gangaraja Immadi Butuga, who ruled from 925-960 A.D., Tumkur was originally known as 'Tummegūru' which in turn means a thick forest of Hedduṃbe Gidagalu (Heddumbe Plants).

Epigraphic Evidence No. 2 : The Lakṣmīkaṇṭha Temple of our Tumkur was built even prior to the year 1560 A.D. as per the Telugu Inscription found on the wall right to Navaraṅga Dwāra of the above-noted temple. The part of the full-text of the Telugu Inscription is as follows :—

"Sadaasivarayalu (1542-1576) A.D. Vijayanagara Rathna Simhaasana Roodhurai, Prithvi Saamarajyam Chesthundaḡaanu Sreeman Mahamandaleswara Gothra Aaswalāyana Soothram Sree Devappa Daasiga Rajagari Puturulu Jagannatha Deviah Maharaajalu Aane Bidda Jari Raajyamūlu."

*Note :—*The above inscription mentions the name of the Vijayanagar King Sadāsivarāya. The word "Aanchidda Jari Raajyamulu".

was the original name of Tumkur controlled by Vijayanagar goveroor Jagannatha Deviah (Telugu Satrap) son of Devappa Desigaraja of Aśvalāyana Sūtra.

Literary Evidence :—

There is a local Kannada literary source (Karigiri Mahatme) by which we can come to know the real meaning on the history of the word 'Aanebidda Jari Raajyamulu'. This Karigiri Mahatme is interlocked with a legend to extend a valuable information on "Aanebidda Jari Raajyamulu". The legend is as follows :—

"In Lord Brahmā's Assembly, the Sage Bhṛigu requested the already singing two Gandharvas by names Dbanañjaya and Devadatta, to repeat their songs once more. But, while refusing his request, they jeered and ridiculed his old and white-stricken beard, rugged dress, old-age and profession. In other words, they ill-treated him with disrespect, and mocked at his learning and prestige. As a result, the wrath-stricken sage extended his curse upon them to take birth in this earthly world (Bhūloka) as Elephant and Mountain respectively. But as a result of their repeated requests and apology this Sage lowered the strength of his curse upon them by telling 'Oh ! Dhanañjaya, you must remain as an eternal mountain (KARIGIRI or DEVARAYANA DURGA); oh ! Devadatta, while remaining for sometime as elephant, roaming over this mountain (Karigiri) you must die stepping down from the rock of the mountain'. As a result, Dhanañjaya became Kusumāchala (yet another name of Karigiri). Devadatta after roaming for some time upon this hill slipped down from there and attained Veeraswarga. From this time onwards this place and its surroundings including our present TUMKUR was titled as "Aane Bidda Jari Raajyamulu", which is supported by the above Telugu Epigraphic Evidence No. 2.

Modern Historic Evidence :—

During the period of the later rulers of Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire, Tumkur was a part and parcel of Andhra, for it was under the control of a Telugu speaking tribe, by name 'Morasu Vokkaligaru', of Telugu origin belonging to Yelahaṅka Nadu. To be frank with you, the major forts of our Tumkur were built by the members of the above clan. For example :—

Byregowda fortified Koratagere ; Nidugal was the chief ceentre of Tumkur. It was under Telugu Speaking Naiks who were known as Palyagars. Nidagal is a Taluk of Pavagada of Tumkur District (Vide—pp. 164-165, Mysore Gazetteer by L. Rice). Sanna Byregowda founded Koratagere (Tumkur District, Vide—Mysore Gazetteer, Volume V page 41, by Rao Sahib Hayavadana Rao). So, Tumkur was for a long time a part and parcel of Andhra Rayalascema.

Conclusion :—

Thus, our Tumkur which contains majority of Telugu Inscriptions is proved as a great asset, not of Karnataka but of Andhra. Hence the integration of Tumkur with Andhra State is found appropriate.

(IV)

1. Epigraphic Evidence :—

The inscription of Devanahalli No. 81 dated in 1425 A.D. refers to the grant of a village in the Sivanasamudra Seeme of Yelahañkanad. So, our Bangalore in Vijayanagar period was known as 'Sivanasamudra Seeme' under the control of Yelahañkanad (Vide page 41—Mysore Gazetteer Volume V, by, Shri C. Hayavadana Rao).

2. Who were the Rulers of Yelahañkanadu ?

Jaya Gowda who had the title like—'Yelahañkanadu Prabhudu' or the Lord of the Yelahañkanad was a subordinate to Devaraya II, the King of Vijayanagar. He ruled Sivanasamudra Seeme, or Bangalore from 1418 to 1433 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Gidde Gowda, whose rule lasted from 1433 to 1443 A.D. Afterwards Kempanañja Gowda ruled Bangalore for seventy years (1443-1513 A.D.) These above Gowdas formerly belonged to Morasu Vokkalu Clan of Telugu Origin (Vide—pp. 20-21, Lewis Rice, Gazetteer VOL. II).

3. Who Built Bangalore ?

Andhra Morasu Vokkaligars built Bangalore. Añkana Gowda was the chief of Magadi. Devanahalli and Avati of Bangalore Dt. were controlled by Viregowda. The famous founder of Bangalore, Magadi Kempegowda, was of the same Morasu Vokkalu Clan.

His mother tongue was Telugu and Telugu was his ancestral heritage—(Vide—Lewis Rice Gazetteer Vol. II pp. 20-21).

Sivanasamudra Seeme is 10 miles South of Yelahañka and three miles south of Bangalooru. This was 'Hale' (old Bangalooru). Avati was founded by Rana Byregowda of Morasu Vokkalu. Doddaballapur was founded by his son. Thimmegowda founded Hosakote. His successor, by name Hayagowda, founded Anekal—(Vide page 40-41, Mysore Gazetteer, by Sri C. Hayavadana Rao, Volume V).

Conclusion :—

The above evidences prove that for a long time our Bangalore was a part of Andhra State. So it is but natural for us to conclude that our Bangalore for its prosperity and peaceful rule, should be integrated with Andhra State.

The above evidences prove that Bangalore which is now the capital of Karnataka State, is really fit for re-integration with Andhra State.

(V)

The following evidences prove that Kolar which is now in Karnataka State is really fit for re-integration with Andhra State :—

Towards the close of the 14th Century A.D., a band of travellers, composed of seven ryots, hailed from Rayalaseema and took shelter near the hill by name RAMASWAMI HILL, which is to the East of Nandi Durga. They were Telugus by origin and were gradually titled as 'Morasu Vokkaligaru'. Rana Byre Gowda, of the above clan founded Chikkaballapur. Thimmegowda became the ruler of Kolar. He repaired the Fort of Kolar, ruled Kolar and added the Hoblis of Vemgal, Sugatur, Kaivara, Burudagunte and Budikote (Vide page 40-41 and 264—Hayavadana Rao's Gazetteer, Volume V) to his dominions.

Conclusion :—

My suggestion due to the above consideration goes to prove that our Kolar is nothing but a part and parcel of original Andhra State, the reservoir of Karnataka music. Scholars interested in Andhra historical researches can understand my above research points and fight for the cause of re-integration of Tumkur, Kolar and Bangalore with Andhra State for prosperity and fine democratic rule.

According to historians, the founders and the rulers of the Saṅgam Dynasty were all Kurubas (shepherds), and they were Śaivas by religion. But as per my researches, the later rulers of the Saṅgam Dynasty such as Deva Raya II, Mallikārjuana and Virūpāksha III (1419- to 1487 A.D.) were all Veeraśaivas (Liṅgāyats). In other words, these Kuruba rulers, embraced Veeraśaivism, according to the following sources :—

Epigraphic Source :—

Let us examine the Kannaḍa inscriptions, edited by late R. Shama Sastry, Director of Archaeological Department (Mysore Government) in 1923 and recorded in Mysore Archaeological Report, 1923, (Page 91, Inscription No. 92).

This inscription is on a stone lying in the enclosure of the Veerabhadra Temple at the village Kengigapura in Anantapura, Hubli, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District. It is dated Sunday, the 15th Lunar Day of the light half of Pausa of the Year Vilambi Śaka 1340 corresponding to Sunday, the 31st December, 1419 A.D. This inscription was again reviewed by Dr. S. Sreekantha Shastry and as a result, Deva Raya II had a title like "Veeraśaivagama Sara Samapanna" which is contained in the 6th sentence of the inscription No. 92. So Deva Raya II was a Veeraśaiva by religion (Vide Dr. Sreekantha Shastry's Article on Deva Raya II in Indian Antiquary, Vol. 57, 1839, pp. 77-85, May, 1928).

The year of this inscription 1340 (Śaka) is equivalent to the following different years, as per the Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar by Robert Sewell :—

1. Kali Year	.. 4520
2. Śaka Year	.. 1340-41
3. Chaitrādi Vikrama year	.. 1476
4. Meshādi (Solar year in Bengal)	.. 825
5. Kollam Year	.. 593-594
6. A.D.	.. 1418-1419
7. According to Jovian Sainvatsara, the year 1340 is referred to Vilambi of Southern System and Viśvavasu of Northern System.	

2. Two Kannada Inscriptions recorded in *Epigraphia Carnatica* XV, (Arsikere) No. 238 and No. 239, mention the names of Nanjappa and Mururaya Basava Śaṅkara Śetti Nāyaka; as the sons of Deva Raya II. These names are Veeraśaiva names.

Purāṇic Source :—

3. Devaraya II, as per Chennabāsava Purāṇa of Virūpāksha Pandit, married his daughter Veeranna Wodeya of Karasthala of Veeraśaivism, vide Channabāsava Purāṇa-Kālagāṇanā Sandhi, verses 19 and 21, Pages 758 and 759.

Historical Source :—

4. The Bhairaveśwara Kāvya Kathā Sūtra Ratnākara of 1672, Gururāja Charitra of 1650, Chorabasavaraja Charita of 1763, record Devararaya II, as a result of his deep interest in Prabhu Liṅga-leelā, embracing Veeraśaivism (Vide Mysore Gazetteer, Rao Sahib Hayavadana Rao, Part—III).

Numismatic Source :—

5. Deva Raya II's coins record the figures of Nandī, Nilakanṭha, Bull, etc. which, in turn assures us his faith in Veeraśaivism because, these symbols, represent Veeraśaiva Symbols (Vide Indian Antiquary, Vol. 57, May 1839 p. 77-85 ; Indian Antiquary, Volume XXIII 1894 p. 24 to 25; Indian Antiquary No. XX. 1891 p. 301—302 ; The coins of Vijayanagar Kings by E. Hultzsch.)

Conclusion :—

By the above sources, we have to come to the conclusion that Devaraya II was Veeraśaiva, it is but natural to derive that his successors, such as Mallikārjuana and Virūpāksha III, were also of the same faith i.e. Veeraśaivism. Besides, to support this idea, the Prapannāmṛitam of Anantācārya records Virūpāksha III as Veeraśaiva (vide Literary Sources of Vijayanagar by S. K. Iyengar). To sum up, Vijayanagar Empire for nearly 68 years was ruled by the Veeraśaiva rulers, such as Deva Raya II, Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha III. Furthermore, this article clarifies the religion of the rulers of the Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire. So, this is of immense use to the students of further historical research.

As a result of my researches in the Mysore Archaeological Department, Lakshmiapuram, Mysore, I was able to come closer to the scientific reasons for the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire. They are as follows :—

Shri C.R. Krishnamaacharu in Indian Antiquary Vol. LII, Jan. 1923, page 10, while recording in an article on Saṅgam Period states that the main political idea of the Saṅgam rulers was to become all-India sovereigns. Having this view in their head, heart and hands, they prayed for God's help by extending their great religious faith upon Brahmins and moral faith upon temples and as a result they became successful in consolidating and expanding their empire irrespective of certain internal difficulties. But the later rulers of the Aravidu Dynasty in general and particularly Aliya Rama Raya of the same Dynasty lost faith in Brahmins and temples and lost his spirit of Brahmajñāna to protect their Empire, even though he continued the main traditions of Saṅgam rulers' idea of all India sovereignty. In other words, Aliya Rama Raya was not able to keep up his faith in Brahmins and temples.

If Hindus of Saṅgam period had a great veneration towards king, Brahmins and temples, the Hindus of Aravidu period who became the peculiar psychologists possessed no political fear of king, no religious fears of Brahmins and no moral faith in the temple. To prove this the Royal Grants of Aravidu Dynasty towards the temples and Brahmins recorded in Madras Epigraphical Reports, Topographical lists of Travancore and the reports of other states, are very small in number in comparison to those of Saṅgam or Salva or Tuluva period. To conclude gradually, the Vijayanagar rulers forgot God and extended no faith and no belief among themselves. If Saṅgam period was known for consolidation and expansion, the Aravidu period was known for internal commotion and destruction.

Bhagawad Gītā States that he is a man in perfect balance, who has the supreme qualities of the idealist and the realist. But Aliya Rama Raya was not a man in true sense for he was neither idealist nor realist. In the long run he was not at all a doer; but a fine dreamer. This was the psychological reason for the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire.

The Saṅgam rulers were the believers of the following doctrine of 'Śvetāśvataropaniṣad', though the Aravidu Rulers lost faith in this (God who is concealed in all beings is One; He pervades everything. He is the inner Soul of every being and Overseer of All activities. He dwells in all life).

Lord Kṛiṣṇa says in Bhagawad Gītā 'O I Arjuna, he who controls the senses in his mind and does actions without motives or attachment is said to be a Karma Yogi'. But Aliya Rama Raya was not able to control his senses in his mind and acted with great personal motive. This placed him as a Karma Rogi or Karma Bhrāṣṭa.

The Portuguese Franciscan Friars, at Madras, Mylapore and St. Thome, near Madras, destroyed some temples and thereby roused the indignations of Brahmins; Aliya Rama Raya went in person to St. Thome and held an enquiry, but finding that the foreign priests were very poor, he let them alone. As a result, the wrath-stricken Brahmins cursed Aliya Rama Raya who made a great disgrace upon Brahmins (Vide Tamil inscription of the year 1558 A.D.; the Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

(VIII)

Evidence No. 1 :—

The ruling Gaṅga Dynasty of Orissa had reached the stage of inanimation with the death of Narasiṃha Rao Langora. He was followed in succession by two lines called Gaṅga or Narasiṃha and Banu. The last Banu had been over-thrown by the Muslims of Bengal who carried with them as prisoner, the minister Kapileśwara, Bhowarbar. When the ruler died, Kapileśwara came to the throne. His reign, which extended upto 1369-70 A.D., was one of constant wars in the course of which he lays claim to having made various conquests—among them Vijayanagar. In an inscription (Epigraphic Evidence No. 1) at a temple to Jagannath, in Cuttack District, he is referred to as 'Karpāṭajahāsasiṃha, and Kalavaragarāja' the yawning lion to the sheep the Karpāṭa King, and the Victor over *Kulberga*.

This above para is drawn from the famous article on a "A little known chapter of Vijayanagar History (1450-1509 A.D.)" in Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture-Volume II, written by Professor S.K. Iyengar.

Evidence No. 2 :—

Kapileśwara, the Raja of Orissa, won Kulabarga. An inscription at Jagannatha Temple, speaks of Kapila as a Lion to the sheep of the *Karnatak* King and as being 'Victorious' over *Kalabaraga*.

This para is drawn from the Report of the Indian History Congress at Allahabad, 1938.

Evidence No. 3 :—

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Volume XIX Part I; pp. 173-190 records the detailed information regarding the Orissan King of Vijayanagar who was the Victor over Kalavaraga (Vide page 41, Poona Oriental Series No. 74. Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture by Sri. S.K. Iyengar Volume II).

Evidence No. 4 :—

The word Kalbarga or Gulburga means a 'stony land' in Kannada Language—vide p. 182 the Bahmanis of the Deccan by Sri H.K. Sherwani. The word 'Gulburga' is the Urdu interpretation.

Evidence No. 5 :—

Gangasalar or Harihara II of Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar Empire was the Turuka of Kulburga (page 69 Poona Oriental Series No. 71; Ancient India by Sri S. K. Iyengar Volume II)—(Here the word 'Kulburga' is the Turkish interpretation for our present-day Gulburga).

When I was a History Lecturer at S.B. College, Gulburga, I came in contact with the above five evidences with the above special reference to the Epigraphic evidence (the inscription at Jagannath temple at Cottock which mentions the word 'Karṇāṭa-jahāsasimha' and Kalavargarāja. The word Karṇāṭa means Karnataka (Kannada Deśa); for example, the Kannada Inscription (E.I. Volume III No. 11 pages 28, 29, 30; 12th sentence records the word 'Karṇāṭa' as being the Karnataka. This inscription is a royal Grant to Śree Raṅga Patam Temple of Karṇāṭa Deśa meaning Kannada or Karnataka).

Late Professor S.K. Iyengar was not able to decipher the meaning of the Karṇāṭajahāsasimha or the meaning of the word Kalavaragarāja. The word 'Varga' means in Kannada 'Samooḥa', in English 'group'. The word 'Kala' means in Kannada 'Kallu'.

In other words Kalavarga means 'Kalbarga' (Muslim interpretation having urdu influence). It became later on Gulburga (The stony land). So the Epigraphic Evidence of Karṇāṭa and Kalvarga holds good to Gulburga of our present day Karantaka. Scholars should not be confused to understand the meaning of Kulberga; Kalavarga or Kalbarga as recorded in my above five evidences. Owing to the pronunciation of many rulers of the different communities of that area these names appeared so, yet my final conclusion is that all the above names such as Kulberga; Kalavarga, etc. represent our 'present Gulburga' of our Karnataka State).

(IX)

The inscription of 1368 A.D. (Page 7), edited by Professor S.K. Iyengar in his "The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India", States Bukka I of Saṅgam period reigning in East Mysore as supreme (E.G. IX. Ma. 18), and in South Mysore, his minister being a Brahmin by name Basavayya. In any period of Indian history, no Brahmin is found by name Basavayya, excepting in this period. In fact, generally the name like 'Basavayya' is not adopted by Brahmins of Aryan Blood. There are Brahmins in Liṅgāyat community. The Brahmins of Liṅgāyat community are Jaṅgamas, who are known as 'Iyyas or Iyyanavarū'. Bukka I just like other Saṅgam rulers, even though he was a Śaiva kuruba (as per Mysore Gazeteer by Rao Sahib Hayavadana Rao), had Ravanāsiddeswara of Veeraśaivism as his personal God (Mane Devaru). To conclude, even though he was Śaiva, he had a leaning towards Veeraśaivism giving great respect to Veeraśaiva faith. To come to a final conclusion, Basavayya was a Jaṅgama or a Brahmin of the Veeraśaiva community. He was a Minister to Bukka who was a Śaiva by religion having Ravanāsiddeswara of Veeraśaivism as his Mane Devaru. This records a glorious and mutual relationship between Kurubas and Liṅgāyats. I think this is the earliest record of Jaṅgama being a minister to a great ruler and I advise Liṅgāyats of our present day generation to make a greater respect towards the present day Jaṅgamas who form the poorest group in Liṅgāyat community.

Even though in the inscription the name is Basavayya, the Chief Minister was a Brahmin. I cannot admit that he was a Brahmin of Aryan Blood. He must be a Brahmin of Dravidian blood.

(X)

As a result of my researches in the Mysore Archaeological Department, Lakshmipuram, Mysore, for several years I am now able to bring before the readers the scientific differences between Vijayanagara rulers and our rulers.

The Vijayanagar rulers had great fear and faith whereas our rulers have no fear and faith at all. For example, the Vijayanagar rulers, whenever and wherever they used to go in conquests, were not forgetting their ancient tradition of donations and grants to temples and Brahmins. The Madras epigraphical reports are full of grants and donations to temples and Brahmins. As a result even today if we make an archaeological tour of Tamil Nadu we can come to an understanding that Tamilnad (the Pandyan Empire) of Vijayanagar period was full of temples and Brahmin Agrahāras for Brahmins. There are certain inscriptions of Mallikārjuna of Saṅgam Dynasty of Vijayanagar empire to show that the Tamil Brahmins (by name Brihaebaranam Brahmins) were receiving a great patronage by Vijayanagar rulers. This indicates that Vijayanagar rulers had great fear towards temple and great faith towards Brahmins. For example, the Saṅgam rulers had a great respect towards the Brahmin family of Mādhavāchārya the celebrated minister of the first Vijayanagar kings (Vide Page 6, 1356 A.D., The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar). The document known as Rāmānujāchārya's Śāsana dated 15th August 1368 states King Bukka I's respect towards Śree Vaishṇava Guru and Śree Vaishṇava Brahmin Bhagawān Rāmānujāchārya, the silent, intelligent, and independent philosopher of the world—(Vide page 7, 1368 A.D.; The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

After capturing Kṛishṇā fortresses, Kṛishṇadevarāya visited Śrīśailam and Ahobalam where he gave gifts to temples on 25th July, 1515 A.D.—(Vide V.R. ii Karnool 454, 455 vide page 18, 1515 A.D.; The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.)

Kṛishṇadevarāya of Tuluva Dynasty honoured the famous Mādhva Brahmin, poet Vyāsatēertha—(vide page 26, 1523 A.D. The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar). Nowadays there are a good number of temples bereft of royal grants

and a great section of Brahmin community bereft of royal help. Brahmins who are considered as native intelligence of India should have been helped and respected by the respective Governments for they make use of their timely intelligence in times of danger and save the lives of country. This is visible in all times, and every one knows it. Even knowing this our rulers extend no faith upon temples and no regard upon Brahmins.

(XI)

As a result of my researches in the Mysore Archaeological department, Mysore, for several years, I was also able to record a research paper and at the same time the scientific inferences and conclusions regarding the character and significance of Vijayanagar culture. Only the scholars who have gone through the entire reports, books, Magazines, and periodicals can claim ability to come to a conclusion on the significance of Vijayanagar culture. As a result of my thorough knowledge of Vijayanagar Empire (my optional subject in M.A. was Vijayanagar Empire), I am able to bring before the readers an interesting and valuable research paper on Vijayanagar culture and its significance.

King, Brahmin and Temple formed Vijayanagar Culture.

This is the greatest significance of Vijayanagar culture. Besides, to come out successful, the Vijayanagar rulers had great religious fear and their inner idea was to save Hindu Sanātana Dharmaśāstras and Varṇāśrama Dharma. There are good many inscriptions in Kannada pertaining to Vijayanagar period recorded in Epigraphia Carantica Volumes which deal with the names of the Vijayanagar emperors who upheld not only the principles of King, Brahmin and Temple as Three Pillars of Vijayanagar culture but also protected the Hindu Sanātana Dharma Śāstras and Varṇāśrama Dharma. In the long run, the cultural idea of Vijayanagar emperors was to expand upon South India the ideals of a welfare-state on democratic lines. The following four dynasties of Vijayanagar empire mark the several grades of Vijayanagar culture :—

(1) Saṅgam Dynasty :—The Rulers of Saṅgam Dynasty were known for the consolidation and expansion of King, Brahmin and Temple as ideals of Vijayanagar culture.

(2) **Sālva Dynasty** :—The Rulers of this dynasty were not able to strengthen the idea of King, Brahmin and Temple as the bed-rock of Vijayanagar culture due to external aggression and internal commotion. But still they protected with greatest difficulty the banner of Vijayanagar culture (King, Brahmin and Temple).

(3) **Tuluva Dynasty** :—The Rulers of this Dynasty gave room for King, Brahmin and Temple, the so-called ideals of Vijayanagar empire to undergo the profound reformation and renaissance. In other words, the idea of King, Brahmin and Temple was reformed and came under the field of greatest revival of learning.

(4) **Aravidu Dynasty** :—The rulers of this dynasty became unfortunately subjected to external aggression. They were not able to keep up their will-power just like other dynasties and as a result the great Vijayanagar cultural ideal (King, Brahmin and Temple), underwent the worst period of disintegration and destruction. This was the main reason for the downfall of the Vijayanagar empire.

The above mark the four successive stages of the great ideal of Vijayanagar culture :—King, Brahmin and Temple.

Let us go through some of the evidences of the Vijayanagar rulers in relation to their donation of grants to Brahmins, the bed-rock of will-power. Harihara Raya, the eldest of the five brothers, son of Saṅgam, gave a village in Nellore District as an Agrahāra to a Brahmin. (Vide V. R. ii. Nell 189; and V.C.C.P. No. 15 i. 109) 1336 A.D.—(vide— The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

The five Vijayanagar brothers of Saṅgam clan jointly gave a grant of villages to Brahmins at Śrīngeri in Kadur District on 9th March 1346 A.D. It is called 'Harihara' (E.C. VI Sg. 1,— Vide page 4, 1346 A.D. The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar).

In general, throughout the Vijayanagar Empire there are larger numbers of inscriptions or royal grants which are ended in (Brahmanananu Konda Paapadali Hoharu, Śree, Śree, Śree) and even the private grants and inscriptions record the above sentence

marking a great respect towards Brahmins. In general, we can conclude that the Vijayanagar rulers who had the ideals of catholic kingship gave international respect to Brahmins. This in turn encouraged the spirit of Vijayanagar culture which is still existing today.

Let us examine the evidences of Vijayanagar emperors in relation to temples. Usually, King was essential for people to undergo political fear, Brahmin was essential for people to undergo religious fear, and Temple was essential for the people to undergo moral fear. To sum up, in Vijayanagar the idea of the King, Brahmin and the Temple was existing and it reached its climax because people were known for their political fear towards the King, religious fear towards the Brahmin and moral fear towards the Temple.

The Gopura of Viṭṭhalasvāmi Temple at Hāmpi was built in 1513 A.D. by Kṛṣṇadevarāya who in a larger measure upheld the tradition of the King, Brahmin and Temple as the greatest landmark of Vijayanagar culture. (Vide page 16, 1513 A.D., the Historical Inscriptions of Southern India by S.K. Iyengar.)

Several inscriptions in general record Kṛṣṇadevarāya's interest in rejuvenating temples of Śrīr Sāilam, Tirupathi, and Ahobalam. Kṛṣṇadevarāya was known for his abundant gifts for the temple affairs. To sum up, almost all Vijayanagar rulers were treating temples as a mark of their great moral fear. In other words, temples of Vijayanagar were the bed-rock of moral fear in Vijayanagar. In the long run the Vijayanagar rulers used to follow the following doctrine of 'Iśāvāsyopanishad' : 'All that we do belongs to God'. The Vijayanagar rulers were of the opinion that culture without faith is barren; faith without culture is blind. Here faith means 'Bhakti'. To go further, Vijayanagar emperors encouraged people to extend their Bhakti upon King, Brahmin and Temple, in order to surrender themselves to God. Bhakti is the crowning gem of individual's faith and almost all kings and subjects of Vijayanagar empire developed this Bhakti culture.

Thus the Vijayanagra Bhakti culture marks a great history of divine dialogue between the results of yesterday and the needs of today in relations to hopes of tomorrow.

There is a general saying in the public that Bhuvaneśwari established by Vidyāraṇya at Hāmpi is the 'Man-Devate' or the mother Goddess of the Saṅgam rulers. As a research student of Osmania University, I must prove Bhuvaneśwari as the real 'Man-Devate' of Saṅgam rulers, taking the epigraphic and numismatic evidences. Unfortunately, to be frank with the readers there is no strong epigraphic or numismatic evidence to prove that Bhuvaneśwari was the 'Man-Devate' of the Saṅgam rulers. Even in their Royal grants to temples the Saṅgam rulers did not mention their 'Man-Devate' at all. The good number of inscriptions in Kannada recorded in Epigraphia Carnatica, in the Mysore Archaeological Department, end with Śree Virūpāksha or begin with Śree Virūpāksha (The 'Man-Devaru' of the Saṅgam rulers).

To suggest Bhuvaneśwari as 'Man-Devate' of Saṅgam rulers, there are no epigraphic or numismatic evidences so far as my microscopic research experience in the Mysore Archaeological Department, Lakshmipuram at Mysore, is concerned. Even though Bhuvaneśwari was the 'Man-Devate' of Vidyāraṇya or Kula Devi of Vidyāraṇya and even though the Saṅgam rulers worshipped it, we cannot draw the conclusion by stating that Bhuvaneśwari was the 'Man-Devate' of Saṅgam rulers. Every ruler must have his own 'Man-Devate'. Mysore Wodeyars consider 'Chamundēswari' as their 'Man-Devate'. Just like them, even the Saṅgam rulers must also possess some 'Man-Devate' whose name I have to make clear now.

Even to day no eminent scholar is able to decipher the significance of Bhuvaneśwari. On seeing some female idol of revolutionary type at Hāmpi scholars assumed that it must be Bhuvaneśwari. For example, assuming it as Bhuvaneśwari, late Gopinatha Rao flattered it in endearing terms in his Iconography. Afterwards, Sree man Niranjanaguna Shiva Yogigalu while supporting this Iconography of Vidyāraṇya—started appreciating Bhuvaneśwari as a sort of spirit for the foundation of Vijayanagar empire in his Paramārtha Geethe. Sri Siddanthi Subramanya Sastry has commented this Paramārtha Geethe. The famous Kannada

novelist, Sri D.R. Bendre, also appreciates Bhuvanēśwari in all possible ways in his article in *Pradeep of Dharwar* (Vide issue, Nov. 1956 pp. 165-168).

But the important thing I want to note is that if Bhuvanēśwari was the Man-Devate of Saṅgamas, why is it that her name is not at all appearing in any inscription, or coins of kings or in royal grants. Do we mean to say that the Saṅgam rulers gradually forgot Bhuvanēśwari, or had a separate 'Man-Devate'? Now I must feel for the inability of scholars to come to a final conclusion upon this. Just to get themselves some popularity and honour from the innocent public, scholars must have named Bhuvanēśwari as the 'Man-Devate' of Saṅgam rulers. If historians have failed to come to an understanding regarding this problem, I suggest to solve this problem by taking the evidences of a fine and princely article on 'The Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti of Prouḍha Devarāya', recorded in the sixth-centinery commemoration volume pages (378 and 379). In this article, the matter is like the following :—'In a verse of an inscription, on the basement of the Mukhamanḍapa, of the Hazara Ramaswami Temple, the name of Devarāya the II and the name of the Goddess, 'Pampā', is mentioned (vide pp. 378-379). Dr. V. Raghavan's Article on Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti of Prouḍha Devarāya—Madras University, recorded in Sixth Centinery Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume.

According to my inferences, Pampā must be the name of a Lake or Sarovara at Hāmpl. Now do you mean to say that the Devarāya II (Prouḍha Devarāya) worshipped this Pampā, a sacred lake at Hāmpli, as his mother Goddess? Furthermore, Dr. Raghavan writes like the following :—

"Pampā was the name of the Goddess in the City of Vijayanagar whom Devarāya the II specially worshipped. It is natural that Devarāya II should have named his work after his patron Goddess" (Vide pp. 378-379—Sixth Centinery Vijayanagar Commemoration volume).

Here the words 'specially worshipped' and 'patron Goddess' of Dr. V. Raghavan hold good for discussion. Here he means, that Devarāya II regarded Pampā as patron Goddess (Āśraya Devate) and in order to show extreme and devout affection

towards her he specially worshipped here. Dr. V. Raghavan's word 'specially' means 'strange'. If this is true authorities should examine the strangeness of Pampā. If Devarāya II had 'Bhuvaneśwari' as his 'Man-Devate' as per our usual public notion, he could have mentioned in his *Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti* (a fine Sanskrit work) or in his royal grants. Anyhow, it is a strange Pampā which is a strange problem to discuss and come to a final conclusion.

We must be anyhow grateful to Dr. V. Raghavan for his fine scholarship in extending this fine article on 'Brahma Sūtra Vṛitti' of Prouḍha Devarāya and I particularly pray for his blessings upon my further researches.

Pampā of this great Sanskrit Scripture 'Brahmasūtra Vṛitti' must be the 'Man-Devate' of not only Devarāya the II but also of the entire Saṅgam rulers for all Saṅgam rulers used to follow their ancestral and predecessors' tradition of worshipping one and the same Mother Goddess, Pampā. Kannadigas usually call Hāmpi as Pampā Kshetra that is to say sacred place of Pampā, the 'Man-Devate' of Saṅgam rulers. According to Sri O. N. Linganniah's fine Kannada book on Śree Vidyāraṇyam, Śree Vidyāraṇya demised in 1386 A.D. According to my conclusion, upto this time i.e. to say 1386 A.D., there must be a great fame and constant worship for Bhuvaneśwari. After 1386 A.D. there is no strong evidence to prove the constant and the famous worship of Bhuvaneśwari to any great extent. And as a result the name of Pampā as the 'Man Devate' became popular in Saṅgam rule.

As per legendary evidence Pampā, the daughter of Lord Brahmā married Śree Virūpāksha. So Virūpāksha was known as 'Pampā Pathi' and Hāmpi was known as 'Pampā Kshetra'.

Now, I must come to a final conclusion, judging my above evidences that Śri Virūpāksha was the 'Man-Devate' or 'Mnne Devaru' of Saṅgam rulers and his divine consort Pampā was the 'Man-Devate' of Saṅgam rulers. This derivation is logical, perfect and quite clear. If Bhuvaneśwari was the personal Man-Devate of Śree Vidyāraṇya, Pampā was the Official 'Man Devate' of Saṅgam rulers. Readers should not be confused with Bhuvaneśwari and Pampā as one and the same¹.

1. The Editor does not subscribe to some of the views and opinions of the learned scholar.

भावस्ती

राजेन्द्र बिहारी पाण्डेय एम्. ए.

सावस्थी (भावस्ती) का नगर प्राचीन उत्तर कोसल राज्य की तीसरी एवं अंतिम राजधानी तथा तत्कालीन छः प्रमुख नगरों में से एक था। मगधान् बुद्ध ने अपने साधु-जीवन का ऋषिकोश (२५ वर्षावास)^१ इसी नगरी में व्यतीत किया। उपासक बनने के उपरान्त गृहपति अनाथविहिक ने सावस्थी में प्रथम बार भिक्षु-संघ सहित बुद्ध की, वर्षावास करने के हेतु आमंत्रित किया। और उनके स्वागत-सम्मानार्थ जेतवन नामक एक विशाल विहार का निर्माण कराया। चारों दिशाओं में से ८७१ गुराँों का प्रवचन भी यहीं हुआ। बुद्ध के प्रमुख आश्रमवासीओं में से अनाथविहिक, विसाखा, मुण्डकासा और पसेर्नाद इसी नगर के थे। अनाथविहिक (बुद्धरा) यहाँ का बहुत बड़ा धनी सेठि था और मिगारमासा विसाखा बड़ी श्रद्धालुता उपासिका थी। उन दिनों यह नगर बड़ा ही सज्जिताली एवं सुन्दर था। बुद्ध के समय उसकी जन संख्या सात कोटि थी^२।

बीद एवं दैन साहित्य में 'सावस्थि' अथवा सावरितपुर नाम से इस नगर का वर्णन हुआ है। पालि टीकाओं में सावस्थी नगरी के नाम के सम्बन्ध में कहा गया है कि जहाँ पर सभी सामग्रियाँ सुलभ हों वह नगरी सावस्थी है^३। सावस्थी का विग्रह रूप 'सहेत' प्रतीत होता है, जो कहीं-कहीं 'सदेय' वा 'सहेठ' के नामों से भी विख्यात है। एक जन श्रुति के अनुसार सावस्थी के महासेठि सुद्धा के नाम पर उसका नाम सहेत महेत पड़ा^४। दूसरी जनश्रुति के अनुसार यहाँ एक पान्थागार था। उसमें जब लोग एक दूसरे को मिलते थे तो पूछते थे 'किं भद्रम् अस्थि?' अर्थात् क्या सब ठीक है? उत्तर मिलता था "सन्धम् अस्थि"; अर्थात् सब ठीक है।^५ इसी प्रकार के आधार पर नगर का नाम (सन्धम्-अस्थि) सावस्थी पड़ा। सावस्थी संस्कृत भावस्ती का पालि अपभ्रंश-स्वरूप है। सावस्थी से सहेत हो जाना सहज ही मान्य है।

विभिन्न नाथाओं में सावस्थी का वर्णन:—

सावस्थी संस्कृत शब्द भावस्ती का पालि एवं अपभ्रंशार्थ रूप है। यह सावस्थ

१. धम्मपदट्ठ कथा १.४.
२. पालि के नामों का कोश-मलालरीखर भाग २; पृ० ११२७।
३. पर्यंच सूदनी १. पृ० १६ में 'सावस्थी नाम की व्याख्या इस प्रकार हुई है:—
"यं किंचि ससुरसानं उपभोगपरिभोगं सत्त्वं एत्थ अस्थीति सावस्थि।
सत्थ समायोगे च 'किं भद्रं' अस्थीति पुच्छित्ते सत्त्वं अस्थीति वचनमुपादय सावस्थि" इति।
४. उत्तर प्रदेश में बीद धर्म का विग्रह पृ० २७०
५. मुरानिपात टीका भाग १ पृ० ३०० (पी०टी०एस०)

ऋषि का निवास स्थान था।¹ इसीलिए इसका नाम सावर्धी पड़ा। जिस प्रकार बृहन्द् से काण्वदी, मरुन्द् से माकन्दी तथा कोसम्ब से कोसाम्बी², उसी प्रकार सावर्ध से सावर्धी की उत्पत्ति बताई जाती है।³

महाकाव्य ग्रन्थों से भी हमें सावर्धी के सम्बन्ध में प्रचुर प्रारम्भिक उल्लेख उपलब्ध हैं। महाभारत एवं पुराणों में भावस्ती का वर्णन कई स्थलों पर आया है।⁴ इन ग्रन्थों में भावस्ती की नींव डालने वाले का नाम भावस्त अथवा भावस्तक भी उल्लिखित मिलता है। दोनों महाकाव्य इस पर एक मठ हैं कि इन्हीं ऋषियों ने भावस्ती (सावर्धी) बसाई।⁵ भावस्त इक्ष्वाकु के पुत्र विकुण्ठ की छोटी पत्नी का था तथा उसके पिता का नाम आनन्ध था।⁶ एक अन्य सूत्र के अनुसार भावस्त युवनाश्व का पुत्र था जिसने भावस्ती नगरी की नींव डाली।⁷ एक अन्य सूत्र के अनुसार वह आद्र (आन्ध्र) का वीर्य था।⁸

प्रचलित परम्परा के अनुसार भावस्तक भाव का पुत्र तथा युवनाश्व का वीर्य था।⁹ हरिवंश के अनुसार भावस्तक ने ही भावस्ती नगरी बसाई।¹⁰ इसके अतिरिक्त अनेक संस्कृत ग्रन्थों में भी भावस्ती का उल्लेख एवं वर्णन हुआ है। एक अन्य सूत्र के अनुसार भुतर्षा भावस्ती का राजा था।¹¹ जनश्रुति है कि उसके मंत्री ने शुक पत्नी द्वारा गुप्त बातें जानकर राज्य को नष्ट प्रष्ट कर डाला। कथा सरित् सागर¹² में भावस्ता के राजा देवसेन का तथा दश कुमार चरित में दूसरे राजा धर्मवर्धन का वर्णन हुआ है।¹³

सावर्धी की स्थिति :—

यद्यपि इसकी स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में पुरातत्त्ववेत्ताओं में मतभेद है विन्तु प्राचीन सावर्धी का ही वर्तमान नाम सहैल महैल आँका गया है।¹⁴ उत्तर प्रदेश के बहराइच जनपद (जिले) के आतर्गत लक्ष्मण ४ मील के घेरे में उस प्राचीन नगरी के खंसावरीय अवशेषों की खोज हुई।

1. 'पाठी के नामों का कोश' भाग २, पृ० ११२६
2. पंचसूतनी भाग १ पृ० ५६-६०।
3. 'भावस्ती इन इंडियन लिटरेचर'-लॉ पृ० २
4. बहो-पृ० ६
5. बहो-पृ० ६
6. वायु पुराण प्रकरण ८८ श्लोक २४-२६ तथा विष्णु पुराण प्रक० ४ श्लोक २, १२।
7. मत्स्य पुराण, प्रक० १२, श्लोक २६-२८ तथा महा० पु० प्रक० ७ श्लोक ५३।
8. भागवत पु० प्रक० ११ श्लोक ६, २०, २१ (वायु के अनुसार आन्ध्र तथा भागवत पु० के अनुसार चन्द्र)।
9. महाभारत वन पर्व-२०१, ३-४
10. हरिवंश ११, २१, २२।
11. हर्ष चरित-काणे का संस्करण-पृ० ५०।
12. कथासरित्सागर-१५, ६३-७६
13. 'भावस्ती इन इंडियन लिटरेचर'-लॉ पृ० ६
14. आर्कियालोजिकल सर्वे आफ इण्डिया (रिपोर्ट्स १८६२-६५) भाग १, पृ० ३३०

(वर्तमान राप्ती) नदी के दक्षिण दृष्टिगत होते हैं^१। यात्रा की दृष्टि से सहेत महेत बलरामपुर होकर जाना ही सुलभ है; क्योंकि सहेत महेत इकौना से ५ मील एवं बलरामपुर से २२ मील की दूरी पर स्थित है। ध्वंसावशेष अर्द्धचन्द्राकार रूप में बिकरे पड़े हैं और दूरा की लम्बाई लगभग डेढ़ मील है, जिसका मुख-द्वार राप्ती नदी की ओर उत्तर-पूर्व में पड़ता है। नगर के चारों ओर से घेष्टित करने वाले वप्र (प्राचीर) की ऊँचाई अकेल थी और अनुमानतः पश्चिमी भाग में ४० फुट एवं दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पार्श्व में ३० फुट रही होगी। इस वप्रावेष्टित नगर के चारों ओर एक परिखा सुरक्षा की दूसरी ध्वित थी। वप्र के ऊपर के भाग में ईंटों के टुकड़ों का भी प्रयोग हुआ था; और समस्त वप्र की लम्बाई लगभग ३ मील के अनुमान में रही होगी^२। ये ध्वंसावशेष अनेकानेक ठीलों के रूप में २७°३१" उत्तर अक्षांश एवं ८०°३१" पूर्व देशान्तर पर बलरामपुर से इकौना जाने बाह्यो सबक के निकट तथा राप्ती नदी के कूल पर स्थित है।

सहेत महेत के इन विस्तृत ध्वंसावशेषों की सावत्थी से पहचान करने का श्रेय सर्वप्रथम अलेक्जेंडर कनिंघम महोदय को प्राप्त है^३। कनिंघम के अनुसार राप्ती नदी के दक्षिण की ओर सहेत महेत नामक ग्रामों में जो खंडहर बिकरे पड़े हैं, वही सावत्थी की प्रसिद्ध एवं प्राचीन नगरा हैं। सहेत महेत अयोध्या से ५८ मील उत्तर की ओर स्थित है, परन्तु बीनी यात्री हुयेनत्सांग के कथनानुसार अयोध्या से उत्तर-पूर्व लगभग ८३ मील की दूरी पर था। किन्तु इसके विपरीत पश्चिमान के उल्लेखों से अयोध्या और सावत्थी के बीच की दूरी ८ योजन अर्थात् लगभग ५६ मील हो थी। बौद्ध रूप के अनुसार सावत्थी एवं अयोध्या के बीच की दूरी प्रायः ६ योजन थी^४।

बीनी बीनी यात्रियों ने सावत्थी की स्थिति निश्चित करते हुए कपिलवस्तु की ही केन्द्र मान कर उसकी वास्तविक स्थिति का निर्धारण किया है। कादियान के अनुसार मकुल्लन्द बुद्ध के नगर से दक्षिण-पूर्व का ओर १२ योजन, कोनाकमुनि बुद्ध के नगर से उत्तर की ओर ११ योजन तथा कपिलवस्तु से १० योजन दूर है^५। तात्पर्य यह है कि सावत्थी कपिल वस्तु से लगभग १३ योजन दूर दक्षिण-पश्चिम की ओर है। हुएनत्सांग ने सावत्थी के निकट कश्मप बुद्ध की मूर्ति सहित स्तूप का वर्णन करते हुए कहा है कि यहाँ से ४०० ली उत्तर-पूर्व जाने पर कपिलवस्तु पहुँचते हैं^६।

1. अनेक पुरातत्वज्ञो एवं इतिहासज्ञों ने इसे गोंडा जिले में बताया है परन्तु सम्पूर्ण खंडहर बहरादख जिले में है। केवल गोंडा जिले की सीमा के निकट अवश्य है (मैप आफ सर्वे आफ इन्डिया नं० ६३ १/२ गोंडा और बहरादख, इसकी पुष्टि करता है।)
2. गयेटियर आफ दि प्राविन्स आफ अवध-भाग १, पृ० १०८
3. आकियालोजिकल सर्वे आफ इन्डिया भाग १ पृ० ३३०
4. विनय महावग (७ कठिन स्कन्ध)
5. ज० रा० ए० सी० (१८६८ और १९००)
6. ज० रा० ए० सी० (१८६८ और १९००)

इस प्रकार यदि देखा जाये तो फाहियान का १२ योजन हुएनत्सांग के ५०० ली के बराबर है। दोनों यात्रियों ने सावत्थी को कपिल बन्धु से दक्षिण-पश्चिम दिशा की ओर ५४ से ६० मील की दूरी पर बताया है। परन्तु सहेत महेत कपिलबन्धु से दक्षिण-पश्चिम की ओर ४५ मील दूर है। अतः शिन्धु महोदय ने चीनी यात्रियों के कथन को सत्य मान कर यह दलील दी है कि क्योंकि कनिष्क महोदय द्वारा निर्धारित सहेत महेत कपिलबन्धु से बहुत निकट पड़ जाता है इस कारण प्राचीन सावत्थी नहीं हो सकती।^१

इस प्रकार मूल सावत्थी के वास्तविक स्थान निर्धारण के सम्बन्ध में दो मत हो सकते हैं। एक तो कनिष्क महोदय के अनुसार सहेत महेत ही सावत्थी है और दूसरा मत भी शिन्धु महोदय का है, जिन्होंने कनिष्क महोदय का मत उद्धृत करते हुए नेपाल की तराई में स्थित खजुरा जिले से प्राचीन सावत्थी की अनुमानित पहिचान की है। खजुरा के भग्नावशेष बालापुर से थोड़ी ही दूर उत्तर की ओर और नेपाल-संज से उत्तर-पूर्व की ओर काशी दूरी पर है।^२ परन्तु अभी तक न तो सकलता पूर्वक इन भग्नावशेषों की सावत्थी से पहिचान हो हो सकी है; और न डा० शिन्धु ने ही ऐसा कोई ठोस प्रमाण प्रस्तुत किया है जिसके आधार पर उनके कथन को धेरा दिया जा सके। फिर भी यह अवश्य है कि उस स्थान में खंडहर तथा टीलों का बाहुल्य है।

किन्तु सहेत महेत ही को सावत्थी मानना अधिक उपयुक्त होगा, क्योंकि पुरातत्त्ववेत्तों से वहाँ ऐसी पुरातत्त्व सामग्री उपलब्ध हुई है, जो इन भग्नावशेषों के प्राचीन सावत्थी होने की पुष्टि करती है। सर्व प्रथम सहेत महेत की भौगोलिक स्थिति चीनी यात्रियों के विवरण एवं अन्य लेखकों के विवरण से निरवयव हो मेल खाती है। उदाहरणार्थ हुएनत्सांग के अनुसार सावत्थी के राजप्रासाद के दीवारों की नाप २० ली थी, जब कि सहेत महेत की प्राचीर लगभग ११ मील लम्बी है। दक्खिन् हत दश कुमार चरित के अनुसार सावत्थी नगरी नदी के कूल पर स्थित थी;^३ जबकि अश्विनी नदी का प्रवाह सम्भवतः महेत की उत्तरी दीवार के किनारे था; और वर्तमान अवस्था में भी लगभग १ मील ही दूर है। दोनों चीनी यात्रियों ने जेतवन की स्थिति को सावत्थी नगरी के दक्षिण की ओर बताया है। अन्य स्रोतों से इसकी पुष्टि भी होती है।^४ फाहियान के अनुसार जेतवन सावत्थी के दक्षिण द्वार से १२०० गज की दूरी पर स्थित था।^५ जो भग्नावशेष सहेत के नाम से विख्यात हैं, वे महेत (नगर) के दक्षिण की ओर स्थित हैं और सहेत से नगर के व्यावसायिक भाग के द्वार (जो दक्षिण का मुख्य द्वार था) की दूरी निरवयव ही १२०० गज से अधिक है, जैसा कि भग्नावशेषों के आधुनिक पर्यावलोकन से स्पष्ट है। सिद्धांती स्रोत के अनुसार भी जेतवन १००० वर्ग हस्तों के क्षेत्रफल में विस्तृत था।^६

१—बही

२—बही

३—‘आवस्ती इन इन्डियन लिटरेचर’ पृ० १०।

४—पंचव संहिता, मज्झिम ढाका (अनुविहार विरोज कोलम्बी)
भाग १ पृ० ४०१।

५—बोल-‘बुद्धिस्ट रेकॉर्ड’ भाग १, पृ० xlv।

६—‘मैनुअल ऑफ बुद्धिज्म’-हार्ड-पृ० २२४।

भग्नावशेषों के अतिरिक्त अभिलेखिक सामग्री भी जो इन स्थलों में प्राप्त हुई है उपर्युक्त मत की पुष्टि करती है। बल नामक भिक्षु के द्वारा बनवाई गई एक विशालकाय बोधिसत्व प्रतिमा सहेत महेत में प्राप्त हुई है। प्रतिमा मथुरा के कलाकारों द्वारा निर्मित हुई और वहाँ से सावस्थी भेजी गई। इस कुपाय कालीन मूर्ति की बरत-बौद्धी पर अंकित लेख के अनुसार यह भिक्षु बल द्वारा कोसम्ब कुटी में बुद्ध की स्मृति में अर्पित हुकर स्थापित की गई थी।¹ यही लेख डा० हॉम द्वारा खुदाई से सहेत में एक दण्ड पर भी अंकित पाया गया, जो प्रादेशिक राज्य संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित है। यह दलील दो जा सकती है कि सम्भवतः यह मूर्तियाँ अथवा प्रस्तर दण्ड प्राचीन सावस्थी से यहाँ किसी प्रकार लाये गये हों, किन्तु इसमें कोई तथ्य नहीं।

भग्नावशेषों के बिहार नं० २१ में पं० दयाराम साहनी द्वारा संचालित खुदाई में एक लेख सहित ताम्र पत्र में प्राप्त हुआ है जिसके अनुसार जेतवन महाबिहार निवासी कुछ भिक्षुओं को दानस्वरूप छः गाँव दिये गये थे। उपरोक्त लेख में इन ग्रामों के नाम क्रमशः निम्नलिखित हैं: बिहारवाडा, पट्टाण, उपलडण्डा, बज्जहली, घोडाडी तथा पयाधि। उपरोक्त नामों में से चार ग्रामों की हम अब भी सहेत महेत के आस पास ही स्थित पाते हैं। यद्यपि पट्टाणा या पट्टणा नाम समस्त उत्तरी भारत में बहु प्रचलित है किन्तु अन्य ग्रामों के नाम अपनी अलग विशिष्टता रखते हैं। १६०६ में संचालित खुदाई में एक कुपाय कालीन अर्द्धमूर्ति (केवल नाचे का भाग) मिली है जिस पर जेतवन एवं धावस्ती के नाम अंकित हैं।²

इन सभी प्रमाणों को ध्यान में रखते हुए यदि हम चीनी यात्रियों के वर्णन की समीक्षा करें तो दृष्टिगत है कि उन्होंने सावस्थी और कपिल वस्तु का अन्तर क्रमशः लगभग १२ योजन अथवा ५०० ली अनुमानित किया है और कपिल वस्तु को सावस्थी से उत्तर-पूर्व की ओर बताया है जब कि सहेत महेत कपिल वस्तु से दक्षिण पश्चिम की ओर ६० मील के अन्तर पर है।

धार्मिक परम्पराओं में सावस्थी का स्थान :—

प्राचीन काल में सावस्थी अनेक धर्मों एवं मतों का प्रचार केन्द्र रहा है। ब्राह्मण धर्म, बौद्ध, जैन तथा आजीविक मत सभी इस समृद्धिवाली नगर में प्रचुर मात्रा में ख्याति पाते रहे हैं।

वैदिक धर्म तथा सावस्थी—

अति प्राचीन काल में सावस्थी वैदिक धर्म का केन्द्र था। ब्राह्मण धर्म का यहाँ पूर्ण रूपेण प्रभुत्व रहा। संजय आकाशगोत्र तथा मालजंघ आदि ब्राह्मणों को पठेनदि के पंथ से अछूता सम्मान प्राप्त था।³ सुप्रसिद्ध जटिलक गुरु तथा स्वामी बाबरी, यहाँ के तराहलीन

1. दे० ज० रा० सी० प० जिल्द ixvii भाग १ पृ० २०६।

2. आर्कियालोजिकल सर्वे आफ इण्डिया, ऐनुअल रिपोर्ट

१६०६-६ पृ० १२५।

3. 'आवस्ती इन इण्डियन लिटरेचर' लॉ पृ० २६।

राजा महाकोशल एवं बादको पसेनदि के पुरोहित भी थे।¹ बहुधा कोशल के राजाओं के सहायधान में नगर में वैदिक रीतियों का पालन तथा यज्ञादि हुआ करते थे।² वैदिक संस्थाओं अपना प्रचार कार्य सुचारु रूप से करती रही थी। इनके संरक्षक एवं अभ्यस्त साहित्य के समस्त प्रेषित होते थे। नगर के निकट ही मल्लिकाराम था।³ यह ब्राह्मण साधुओं का मुख्य केन्द्र था। तत्कालीन प्रकाण्ड विद्वानों एवं विद्याभास्करों का यहाँ निरव्य प्रति आना जाना लगा रहता था। नगर के निकट ही अन्य मठों के भी आराम थे। उदाहरण स्वरूप जटिलक, निगन्ध, अचेलक, एकसाटक एवं परिव्राजक आदि भग्नों के मठ प्रसिद्धि-प्राप्त थे। इस प्रसंग में यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि तत्कालीन राजकीय नीति के अनुसार राज्य की ओर से साधु व्रत में गुप्तचर भी भ्रमण किया करते थे।⁴ वे इन साधुओं की गति विधि पर विशेष ध्यान रखते थे। ब्राह्मण महासालक वेदों पर आधारित ज्ञाति एवं समाज सम्बन्धी समस्याओं को लेकर बाद विवाद किया करते थे। एक बार ब्राह्मणों ने एक स्तूप के बनने में बाधा डाली। इस पर सावर्धी के एक सेट्टि ने सैनिक सहायता द्वारा उसका निर्माण कराया।⁵

जैन धर्म तथा सावर्धी :—

जैन काल में सावर्धी चन्द्रपुरी अथवा चन्द्रिकापुरी नाम से विशेष विख्यात थी; और इसे तीसरे तीर्थंकर सम्भवनाथ की जन्म भूमि माना गया है।⁶ एक अन्य सूत्र के अनुसार यही स्थान आठवें तीर्थंकर चन्द्रभनाथ की भी जन्म भूमि थी।⁷ मल्लिक-पुरा गोपाल जब महावीर से अलग हुये तब उन्होंने सावर्धी में हालाहला नामक एक कुम्हार की स्त्रा के घर में आश्रय लेकर सावर्धी को अपना केन्द्र बनाया और धरे-धीरे अपना प्रभुत्व जमा लिया।⁸ महावीर तथा गोपाल में परस्पर मतभेद होने के उपरान्त प्रथम बार यहाँ ही दोनों का भेंट हुई। इस समय गोपाल किसी धर्म विशेष से प्रभावित न होकर अपने मत का प्रचार कर रहे थे। इस नगर में महावीर व्र अनेकों बार स्वागत हुआ।⁹ महावीर ने यहाँ एक बार वर्षावास भी व्यतीत किया था।¹⁰ नन्दिपिय

1. यही—
2. संयुक्त निकाय भाग १ पृ० ७६।
3. 'पाली के नामों का कोश' मल्लिकाराम भाग २ पृ० ४१७।
4. संयुक्त निकाय भाग १ पृ० ७८।
5. दिव्यावदान; पृ० २४३-४४।
6. जैन हरिवंश पुराण पृ० ७१७।
7. 'जैनज्म इन नार्दर्न इण्डिया'-शाह पृ० २६।
8. आचर्यक सूत्र पृ० २१४ "स्वामिनः पार्श्वीस्थि फटितः
धावस्त्यां तेजो निसर्गमातपयति—।"
9. कल्पसूत्र पृ० १०५
सुचोपिष्ठा टीका पृ० १०६
आचर्यक सूत्र पृ० २११
10. हाट ऑफ जैनज्म-स्टीवेन्सन पृ० ४२।

धनी मानी गृहस्थ यहाँ का निवासी था। वह चार करोड़ मुराबों का स्वामी और जैन धर्म का बड़ा अनुयायी था।¹ जैन सूत्र के अनुसार कारस्य का पुत्र कपिल सावर्धी में इन्द्रदा के मुकुट में शिखा प्रदत्त करने आया था। इन्द्रदा और कारस्य में पुरानी मित्रता थी। मित्र के पुत्र की सहायता करने के विचार से इन्द्रदा ने शिष्य को नगर के एक बनावट के संरक्षण में रखकर उसे शिक्षित किया।²

जैन सूत्र के अनुसार सावर्धी के राजा समुद्रविजय का पुत्र मेघवन लक्ष्मणाली सम्राट् था।³ केशी ने सावर्धी का भ्रमण किया। केशी पहले पार्व का शिष्य था। उपास्य महावीर का अनुयायी एवं शिष्य हो गया।⁴ सावर्धी के निकट ही सरयण नामक स्थान पर आजीविहों के आचार्य गोसाल का जन्म हुआ था। इनके माता पिता यरिष्वाजक थे। यह भी उल्लिखित है कि यह दम्पति विप्र यट आदि दत्ता कर व्याख्यान एवं शिक्षाएँ दिया करते थे। गोसाल ने अपने जीवन का प्रायः स्वस्त शेष भाग सावर्धी में ही व्यतीत किया और यही वे हाताहला के घर में अमरस्य को प्राप्त हुए। आजीविह सूत्र में आठ महानिमित्त और दो मग हैं। यही इनका संवत्सन १० पुराणों के साथ हुआ। बौद्ध निबुणो विसाखा के रसुर सेट्टि मिगार और कुछ अन्य विशिष्ट व्यक्ति बौद्ध धर्म के प्रभाव में आने के पूर्व आजीविह मत के अनुयायी थे।⁵ आजीविह साधु मग्न रहते थे और इन लोगों ने सावर्धी में अपना प्रभुत्व जमा रखा था, ऐसा कि बौद्ध एवं जैन धर्म प्रार्थों से स्पष्ट है।

बौद्ध धर्म तथा सावर्धी :—

अन्य धर्मों की अपेक्षा सावर्धी में बौद्ध धम्म ने अधिक क्वायति प्राप्त की। यह कहने में अतिशयोक्ति न होगी कि सावर्धी की ऐतिहासिक क्वायति का मूल कारण बौद्ध धम्म ही था, जिसके उन्नायक भगवान बुद्ध स्वयं थे। सावर्धी के समुद्रिहाली नागरिकों की पुष्ट में पूर्ण आस्था थी⁶ और यहाँ के नागरिकों ने तथागत को शिक्षाओं से अधिक लान भी उठया।⁷ अनाथपिटिक के घर प्रतिक्षेप ५०० भिक्षुओं के हेतु भोजन प्रस्तुत रहता था। यही बात पत्तेनदि तथा विसाखा के विषय में कही जाती है।⁸

संस्कृत भाषा में लिखित बौद्ध ग्रन्थों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि बौद्ध परम्पराओं में जेतवन का विशेष भाग रहा है। अनेकों बार तथागत अपने अनुयायियों समेत जेतवन में ठहरे और असंख्य गृहस्थ अनुयायी नैट के हेतु आये।⁹ देवदत्त ने

1. उपास्य दसाओ पृ० १६६-१६७।
2. जैनसूत्र (एग० बी० ई०), भाग २, पृ० ३२।
3. यही
4. यही
5. जर्नल ऑफ दि डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ लेटर्स; कलकत्ता वि०वि०।
6. बौद्ध मुला (एग० बी० ई०) पृ० ६६।
7. बोधि सत्पावदान-चरितलता ६, ३, ७६, २; ८२, २।
8. जातक भाग ४ पृ० ६१।
9. ललितविस्तर अध्याय १।

जैतवन में बुद्ध की हत्या के विचार से आदमी भेजे परन्तु बुद्ध ने उनकी आब-भगत कर उनका स्वागत किया।¹ यही पर विम्वितार तथा पत्तेनदि ने आकर बुद्ध के प्रति आदर एवं सम्मान प्रदर्शित किया।²

सावत्थी में बुद्ध ने ५०० भिक्षुओं की सम्महान तथा मेता सुत्त का पाठ पढ़ाया।³ वहाँ के महा सुवण नामक साहूकार के दो पुत्र थे जिनमें से अग्रज बुद्ध का अनुयायी तथा भिक्षु चक्रवर्त्तुपाल के नाम से विख्यात था।⁴ मट्ट कुण्डलि सावत्थी के धनाढ्य एवं सम्पन्न ब्राह्मण का पुत्र था जो कि बुद्ध का अनुयायी हो चुका था।⁵ धुम्भतिस्स बुद्ध का कुत्तरा भाई था और भिक्षु रूप में सावत्थी में हो रहता था।⁶ यही पर कालियकिष्किनी नामक बन्दी थी। सावत्थी के नागरिक इसकी पूजा करते थे। जनश्रुति है कि वह यहाँ होने की तथा सूखा पड़ने की भविष्यवाणी करती थी।⁷ बौद्ध धर्म की उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि में योगदान करने वाले असंख्य भिक्षु-भिक्षुणियाँ सावत्थी की ही देन हैं। पटायारा सावत्थी से समृद्ध साहूकार की पुत्री थी जो बाद की भिक्षुणी हो गई।⁸ कित्तगीतमी सावत्थी के एक चेष्टि की पुत्री थी।⁹ अपने दृष्टौते पुत्र की मृत्यु पर उसका शव लेकर बुद्ध के पास गई और उसे पुनर्जीवित कर देने की प्रार्थना की। बुद्ध की शिक्षाओं से प्रेरित हो वह भिक्षुणी हो गई। अनिस्थिगन्धार कुमार ने ब्रह्मशोक से अवतरित होकर सावत्थी के एक समृद्ध परिवार में जन्म लिया।¹⁰ बुद्ध ने उसे अपने धर्म में दीक्षित किया। बककलि ने सावत्थी के एक ब्राह्मण परिवार में जन्म लिया, जो बुद्ध के शारीरिक सौन्दर्य से प्रभावित होकर भिक्षु हो गया। यही एक ब्राह्मण के नौकर ने भिक्षु होकर अर्हत पद प्राप्त किया।

एक अवसर पर जैतवन में बुद्ध ने भिक्षुओं के सम्मुख दो प्रकार के दोषों के विषयों पर प्रकाश डाला।¹¹ एक दूसरे अवसर पर उनके अनुयायी सारिपुत्र ने तीन प्रकार के पुण्यों के विषय में व्याख्यान दिया।¹² उपरान्त बुद्ध ने तीन प्रकार के रोगियों के विषय में भी प्रवचन दिये।¹³ इसके परवात् पुम्माराम में निर्मित भिगारमाता के प्रासाद में बुद्ध ने

1. अवदान शतक पृ० २७।
2. वही पृ० १२-१३ तथा ४५।
3. सुत्त पाठ टीका पृ० २३१।
4. धम्म पद टीका भाग १ पृ० ३।
5. वही पृ० २५।
6. वही पृ० ३७।
7. वही पृ० ४५।
8. वही पृ० २६०।
9. वही पृ० २७०।
10. धम्म पद टीका भाग ३ पृ० २८१।
11. अंगुत्तर निकाय भाग १ पृ० ४७।
12. वही पृ० ११८।
13. वही पृ० १२०।

तीन प्रकार के उपोसथ एवं देवताओं की उपस्थिति के विषय में भी भाषण दिये।¹ सारिपुत ने यही पर आन्तरिक तथा बाह्य बन्धनों पर प्रकाश डाला।² अतः में सावत्थी में अन्तर्गत तथा यज्ञ परिवर्तक के बीच राग, योह एवं दोष को लेकर वाद विवाद हुआ।³ यही पर बुद्ध ने रोहित को सावत्थी की महिमा बताई, जहाँ पर जन्म लेने से मनुष्य को जन्म मरण के बन्धन से मुक्ति मिल जाती है। इसके अतिरिक्त भिक्षुओं के चार प्रकार बताये।⁴

एक अन्य अवसर पर, जब कि बुद्ध जेतवन में निवास कर रहे थे, प्रसेनजित की अप्रमदिया महिला देवी ने निर्धन, दुखी एवं कुम्हण, धनी परशु कुम्हण, सुन्दर परशु दुखी एवं निर्धन और धनी तथा सुन्दर होने का कारण बुद्ध से पूछा।⁵ यही राज कुमारी सुमना ५०० अन्य राज कुमारियों के साथ बुद्ध के पास गई और बुद्ध से दो प्रकार के अनुयायियों और दानी तथा कृपण के लक्षणों के सम्बन्ध में प्रश्न किया।⁶ श्रुत्यु के परचान् भिक्षु अज्झा फल मिलेगा, यह भी पूछा। तथागत ने अनापदिहिक को धन की उपयोगिता, चिरायु होने, सुन्दरता, सुख, ख्याति एवं सुख प्राप्त होने में बाधाओं को भी यही बताया।⁷

बौद्ध धर्म ग्रन्थों में सावत्थी में तथागत के समय-समय पर निवास करने के अनेकों प्रयोग उल्लिखित मिलते हैं। मल्लिका की श्रुत्यु पर पसेनदि का सान्त्वना के हेतु बुद्ध के समीप जाना, बुद्ध के पाँच नीवरणों (कठिनाइयों)⁸, पाँच आचरणों⁹ तथा दान की महत्ता¹⁰ के सम्बन्ध में प्रवचन, अनापदिहिक को पुत्रवधू को सीख¹¹ उम्मतसरिर नामक ब्राह्मण के यज्ञमें अनेकों जोषों की बलि¹² और उसका तथा बुद्ध का वार्तालाप, अष्टांग आचरण युक्त¹³ उपोसथ के अनुसरणोय गुणों एवं महत्त्व पर प्रकाश यही डाला। तदुपरान्त भिक्षुओं की शील एवं आचरण सम्बन्धी पातिमोक्ख¹⁴ में बखित नियमों पर प्रकाश, बुद्ध में सफल होने के उपरान्त पसेनदि द्वारा बुद्ध की अन्वर्धना¹⁵ आदि प्रयोग निरचय ही सावत्थी को बौद्ध धर्म में अत्यधिक महत्त्व प्रदान करते हैं।

- | | |
|---------|---------------------|
| 1. यही | पृ० २०५। |
| 2. यही | पृ० ६३। |
| 3. यही | पृ० २१५। |
| 4. यही | भाग २ पृ० १२३-१२४। |
| 5. यही | पृ० २०२। |
| 6. यही | भाग ३ पृ० ३२। |
| 7. यही | पृ० ४५-४६। |
| 8. यही | पृ० ५७। |
| 9. यही | पृ० २०३। |
| 10. यही | पृ० २३६। |
| 11. यही | पृ० ६१। |
| 12. यही | पृ० ४१। |
| 13. यही | पृ० २४८। |
| 14. यही | भाग ५ पृ० १, २१-२२। |
| 15. यही | पृ० ६५। |

बौद्ध धर्म ग्रन्थों के अवलोकन से अनेकों ऐसे ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों का स्पष्टीकरण हो जाता है जिनके आधार पर सावर्था के प्राचीन परम्परागत धार्मिक विरवालों एवं उस नगर में बौद्ध धर्म के प्राधान्य का क्रमिक परिवर्तन आँका जा सके। सर्व प्रथम तो महाराज पतेनदि का युद्ध की अतिशय सम्मान प्रदान और उपरान्त उनकी बहिर्न भुजना तथा अमृतपुर की अनेक रात्रियों पर बौद्ध धर्म का प्रभाव मूल कारण प्रतीत होता है। सुतनिपात के अनुसार ब्राह्मणों के एक समुदाय को उनकी पारस्परिक हृदियों के सम्बन्ध में प्रकाश डालते हुए युद्ध ने उपदेश दिया कि किस प्रकार उन हृदियों से पाप एवं दुस्वरिजता का प्रादुर्भाव होता है। स्पष्ट है कि ब्राह्मण धर्म के स्थान पर जब बौद्धों का सावर्था में प्राधान्य हुआ, तब तत्कालीन राजा की देखा देखी वहाँ के गण्यमान्य व्यक्तियों ने भी बौद्ध धर्म की शरण ली¹, जिनमें से कुछ का उल्लेख ऊपर आ चुका है। पालिग्रन्थों के अनुसार घेर कंठा रेवत एक समृद्धिवाली परिवार का व्यक्ति था² और नामक एक अन्य व्यक्ति मन्त्रि-परिवार का और अजित, जो पहले बावरी का अनुयायी था,³ और उपरान्त तीस में प्रविष्ट हुआ, सभी इसी नगर के सम्पन्न एवं समृद्धिवाली व्यक्ति थे।

पालिसाहित्य में स्थान स्थान पर धावस्ती की दूधरे नगरों से दूरी का उल्लेख मिलता है। धावस्ती से कपिलवस्तु की दूरी पन्द्रह योजन, राजगृह पैतालःस योजन⁴ तच्छिला एक सौ बानने योजन⁵ मच्चिकारुंठ तीस योजन,⁶ सुम्भारक एक सौ बीस योजन,⁷ अगगलाव बिहार तीस योजन,⁸ संकाम्य तीस योजन,⁹ उन्नगर एक सौ बीस योजन,¹⁰ कुररवर एक सौ बीस योजन,¹¹ बांगुलिनाल भेट होने का स्थान तीस योजन,¹² चन्द्रमागा नदी का तीर एक सौ बास योजन¹³ और सावेत छे योजन¹⁴ दूर था।

1—पाली टेक्स्ट सोसायटी सिरीज—संस्करण ५०—१२१।

2—धम्म पद टीका भाग ४ पृ० ११७।

3—वही

4—मज्झिम निकाय अट्ठ कथा १११४ और दे० राहुल कुल पुरातत्त्व-निबन्धावली पृ० २० और सारत्थ पकासिनी संयुक्त टीका भाग १ पृ० २४३।

5—वही अट्ठ कथा ११४१० और पंच सूदनी मज्झिम टीका भाग २ ६८७ (अलुबिहार सिरीज कोलम्बो) के अनुसार १४० लीग।

6—धम्मपद अट्ठ कथा २१००।

7—वही ८१२ और उदान अट्ठ कथा १११०।

8—धम्मपद अट्ठ कथा १११७ और १११२।

9—वही १४१२ और जातक (फउस बाल) भाग ४, २५६।

10—प० प. अ क० २११८।

11—वही २५७७।

12—मज्झिम अट्ठ कथा १११४।

13—धम्मपद अट्ठ कथा ६१४।

14—महावग्ग पृ० २८७ और विनय पिटक (पो.टो.एस) भाग १ पृ० २४३ और धम्मपद अ० क० भाग १ पृ० १८७ पा०टो०एस० के अनुसार ७ लीग (योजन) था।

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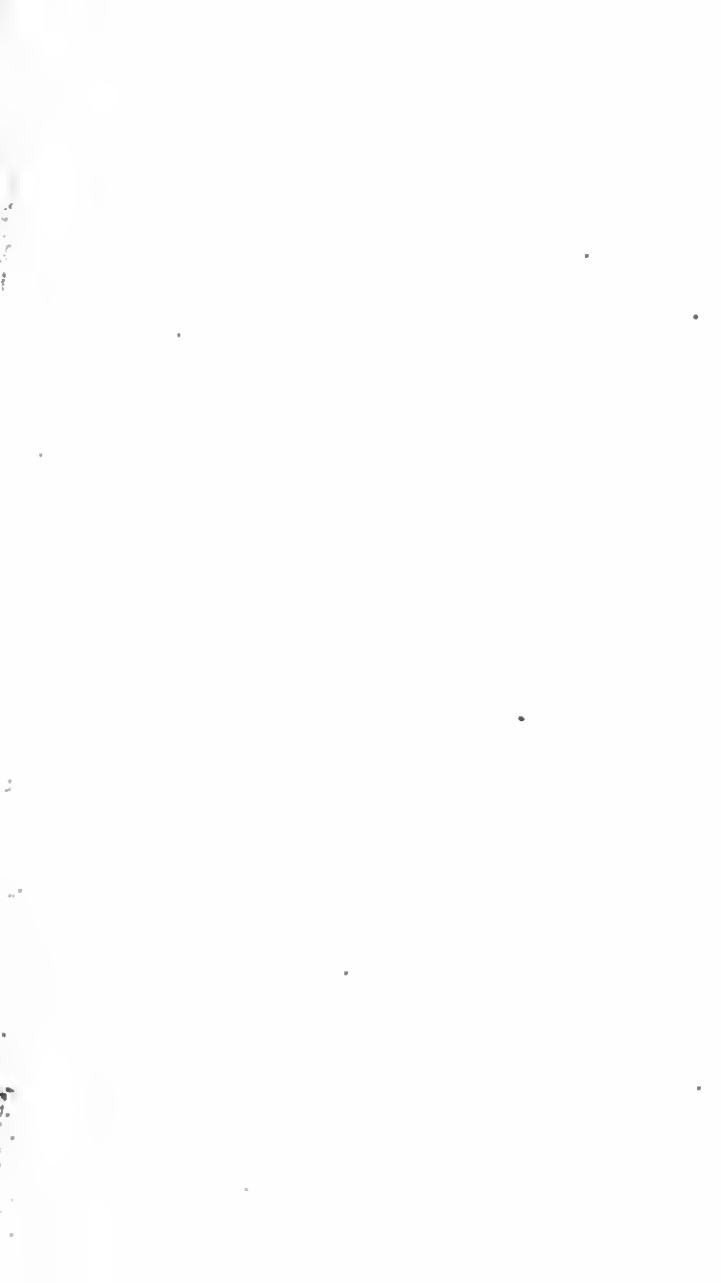
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